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"Brief Account" &c.
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in "Historical Memorials
of the Irish Rebellion, v
Letter to Walter Harris Esq
It is dedicated to Honoria, Lady
Kingsland, & is signed "M.
but on the title-page of an "His
ical & Critical Review of Civil
Wars in Ireland from Eliz.
Will. III, by J.C., M.D., "it is
acknowledged to be by the same
hand. i.e., Curry. (Dublin 17

Maryh. M. Parks
The "Letter" is bound
up with

A
L E T T E R
F R O M A N
English Gentleman,
T O A
MEMBER of PARLIAMENT:

S H E W I N G,
The *Hardships, Cruelties* and *Severe Usage* with
which the *Irish Nation* has been treated.

A N D A L S O,
Setting forth in a clearer Manner than has
been hitherto Publish'd, The INTERESTS, VIEWS
and *Wicked DESIGNS* of the Corrupt Ministry, under
The Usurper *Oliver Cromwell*.

And the No-less *Unjust PROCEEDINGS*,
In the Reign of King *Charles II.*
Illustrated with curious Reflections.

In this WORK are inserted two valuable Pieces, *Viz.*
The Letter of His Most Christian Majesty,
LEWIS XIV. to King CHARLES II. in favour of
the *Irish Catholics*. Dated at *Paris*, Sept. 7. 1660. p. 4.

A N D
The *Attestation* of the Rev. Mr. *John Ker*,
Dean of *Ardagh*, concerning the Conduct of the
Catholics of Ireland, in the Rebellion of 1641, &c. p. 3.

L O N D O N:
Printed by T. HILL, at the *Bible and Dove*,
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A

LETTER, &c.

My LORD,

 O comply with your Lordship's Command. I here send you a short but just Account of the deplorable state of the *Irish* Nation, and of the apparent Injustice which the present Government makes it groan under. This I am afraid, as I formerly hinted to your Lordship, has for some Years past irritated, and does still continue the avenging hand of Heaven over us: And since we have, contrary to all humanity and equity, treated the *Irish* in a most unheard of manner; it is to be further fear'd, that unless we have a speedy recourse to the Divine Majesty, so outrageously provok'd against us, and endeavour, by a most humble and timely Repentance, to put a stop to our Violences, his Justice will make our Punishment still more exemplary; for tho' it be but too well known that the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland* have suffered a thousand Persecutions under the late usurp'd Government, their fate in that being common not only with some *English* and *Scotch* Noblemen, and others of unshaken Loyalty; but even the King himself and all the Royal Family, made their sufferings the more tolerable to 'em, no body complaining of his private Misfortune, when all were plung'd in so general a Calamity; *Perire quam sortem patiuntur omnes, nemo recusat.* But now, that they alone shou'd continue under Oppression since his Majesty's happy Restoration, and that the Tears of those unfortunate People should hinder us from truly

A 2 saying

saying that the Joy spread over the rest of the Subjects of our *English* Monarchy, is not universal ; and that their present hardships shou'd far out-do the Cruelty they were treated with under the Tyranny of *Cromwell*, is what can sooner be bewail'd than express'd.

Yet I can't but observe, my Lord, how few of us have any sense of their Miseries, and that the *Irish* have to bear up not only against the malice of their implacable Enemies ; but even are, as it were, forgotten by those, who as they were fellow-sufferers for the same Cause together, were, as one may say, become mutual Friends ; but who no sooner believ'd themselves deliver'd from what the *Irish* still labour under, than they became unconcern'd to cure those Wounds of their Neighbours, which they thought themselves in no further danger of.

These Reasons, my Lord, and my Inclination to satisfy whatever your Lordship requires of me ; my Zeal to Justice ; and in fine, that natural Impulse and Compassion which inclines every one to pity his Kind, together with the partiality of almost all our *English* Writers, who being for the most part Protestants, if not Fanaticks, and consequently too much Interested not to disguise plain matters of Fact, or to speak to the advantage of a Nation all or most Catholicks, whose Estates, Benefices and Employments they usurp, have summ'd up all their Art and Venom to load the *Irish* with all the Impostures, and with the blackest Calumnies Wit and Malice could invent, that, thereby rendering them odious all the World over, they might themselves appear less Criminal before Man, and their Usurpations less unjust ; so that to them may properly be apply'd what we read in the 28th Chapter of the Prophet *Isa.* v. 15. " Posuimus mendacium speciem nostram, & mendacio protecti sumus. We have made lies our Refuge, and have shelter'd our selves under Falshood." Without speaking of what the same Prophet says a little before, " Erant in conspectu nostro consilia iniquitatis : Et cum inferno fecimus Pactum : And we have made an agreement with Hell." Add, that an unchristian Prejudice peculiar to us, and our innate Pride, which makes us dispise every Body but our selves, encline us rather

rather to believe every thing to the Prejudice of the *Irish*, who yet are no less Brave, no less good Christians, nor less faithful Subjects to the same Prince than we, than judge of 'em according to that Charity which every one ought to have for his Neighbour, obliges us to do, and which we wou'd not be well-pleas'd our selves not to be judg'd according to the Rules of, on the like occasion.

These Reasons, I say, moving enough, and Considerations so just, have prevail'd with me to lay before your Lordship all the Particulars of the present State of *Ireland*; therefore, after I have shew'd you naked matter of Fact, and made you sensible of the Title of those, who are in actual Possession, and that of the ancient Proprietors; I shall discover to your Lordship what execrable Artifices have been made use of to render that Nation not only incapable of any Grace or Favour, but to represent 'em as unworthy even his Majesty's common Justice.

Brogkil and *Coot*, two of the *Cromwelian* Ringleaders in *Ireland*, having sent Emissaries into *England* to feel the Pulse of the Nation, and finding it dispos'd to favour the glorious Design of General *Monck*, in restoring the King, repair'd to *Dublin*, where they call'd a Convention of the States, compos'd of their own Faction, and who being interwoven, all in the same Interest, by their Usurpations might more seriously deliberate of the most effectual means to hinder the *Irish* Nobility and Gentry from being restored to their Estates and Dignities, which themselves had received from the Hands and bounteous liberality of the Usurper; reasonably guessing that as soon as his Majesty wou'd remount the Throne of his Ancestors, his Justice would re-establish those noble Lords, &c. in the full Possession of their own. Upon which it was resolv'd to make 'em all close Prisoners, to prevent their joining with the King, in case the Parliament exacting too much, or imposing too unreasonably upon him, thro' the instigation of the Caballists, he should be obliged to recover his Right by Force of Arms.

It was further agreed upon, to send some subtil, crafty Person, and of the most leading Men among the Presby-

terian Faction, into *England*, in order to gain and influence the Minds of the People, to fill 'em with spacious Pretences, and to insinuate the Wrongs and Dangers which would accrew from restoring the *Irish* to their ancient Estates, to the new Interest of the *English* Protestants in that Kingdom. These Resolutions were no sooner taken than the Prisons were fill'd with the most considerable Persons in the Nation, whom neither offer'd Bail, old Age, nor other Bodily Infirmities, could exempt from that, or other tyrannical Ulage.

At the same time Sir *John Clotworthy*, (notorious for pillaging *Somerset house*, the *Queen's Palace*, for massacring infinite numbers of his Majesty's loyal Subjects, fomenting several Conspiracies against the sacred Person of the King himself, and no less zealous a Persecutor of the *Irish* than sworn Enemy to the Monarchy) was dispatch'd for *England*; and no sooner arrived at *London* then * he gives out, and industriously spreads among the People, that a fresh Rebellion was broke out in *Ireland*; and the Letter to perswade this detestable Forgery, he took care that several Letters, intimating the same thing, should be sent to, and received by many Merchants on the *Exchange*, whereof Copies were immediately dispers'd all over the City; so that the King was hardly settled on his Throne. when both Houses of Parliament, too easily giving Credit to the Imposture of the said Sir *John*, presented a Proclamation to his Majesty against the Irish Papists, whom they charged with being in actual Rebellion, Massacring every where his Majesty's faithful Protestant Subjects, stripping and plundering them without Mercy. Thus were the Irish traduc'd, and no Stone left unturn'd to calumniate and blacken 'em, whereby they might be ruin'd at home, and render'd odious to all other Nations.

This

* The like wicked Report rais'd and spread all over *England*, &c. of an Irish Massacre in the Year 1688, fresh in every Body's Memory, gain'd no less Credit, even to the terrifying and alarming the whole Nation; but to what end let others Answer.

This Proclamation was publish'd in *London* the 3d of *June*, 1660. though it was of publick Notoriety, that there was not one single Irish Man in Arms throughout the whole Kingdom of *Ireland* at that time.

Clotworthy, animated with the Success of his first Stratagem, and recruited with others of his Party newly arrived from *Ireland*, whereof *Broghil* was the Chief, seeing that his Majesty's gracious Act of general Pardon to all his Subjects would soon pass, and fearing that if the Irish should be therein comprehended they would immediately re-enter into their Estates, had the Face to present a Petition to the Parliament, praying, That the Irish might be excluded. and that an express Clause might be inserted in the Act of Indemnity, to that purpose: But this appearing so unreasonable to both Houses of Parliament (especially after the King himself had declared he would have the Irish have the benefit of his Pardon, since it was general for all that had pass'd before) that they would not exclude them from it no more than the rest of his Majesty's Subjects. But the *Cabalists* having had some Conference with the Duke of *Ormond*, to whom, 'tis said, they promis'd a great Sum of Money, together with that vast Estate which he has since actually got by the Irish Act of Settlement (the Duke has by this new Settlement added to his old Patrimony as much as would have satisfied the just Claims of all the Adventurers, and *Anglesey* and *Kingston* had little less) made so powerful, and I know not what sudden Impression on his Grace, that he made a Speech in the House of Lords dissuading the including of the Irish in the said Pardon, alledging that his Majesty had reserv'd the Cognizance of that Matter to himself; though but a few Days before the King had fully explained himself on that Subject, And declared he would have his Pardon equally extend to them, with the rest of his Subjects: however, excluded they were, to the Astonishment of all honest Men, who saw what odious ways were used to carry on so detestable a Design. But this not satisfying these Oliverian Furies, they further made it their Business to leave no means for the unfortunate Irish to partake of his Majesty's Act of Indemnity, much less

of any effect of his Royal Favour or Justice; by gaining the first Minister of State so far to their side (by some irresistible Charm) that he got the Commission of Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, newly granted to the Lord Roberts (an *English* Nobleman highly qualify'd, and of that known Honour and Integrity, as made the *Caballists* dread the Administration and Probity of, seeing it could portend nothing to them but Justice, and consequently their utter Ruin) recall'd.

This great Obstacle being removed. *Brogkil, Clotworthy, Anglesey* and *Mervin*, with the Assistance of *Steel*, a certain other *Roberts* and *Petit*, came out three Months after with that monstrous Piece, entitled, "his Majesty's gracious Declaration for Settlement of his Kingdom of *Ireland*, and Satisfaction of the several Interests of Adventurers and Soldiers;" on which, as their Master piece, all subsequent Acts made since relating to the same Affair, are grounded.

In the first Paragraph of this Declaration the Adventurers are confirmed in their Possession. In the second, *Cromwell's* Officers and Soldiers are allowed to keep such Lands as were given to them for the security of the Arrears of their Pay. The third settles the Interest of the 49 Men. The fourth leaves to the Irish, turned out of their ancient Inheritance, such Lands in the Province of *Conaught* and the County of *Clare*, as were assigned to them in lieu of their own. The fifth is in favour of those of the Nation who served in his Majesty's Army, or those who Claim under the Articles of Peace.

Must not this, my Lord, be a rare Settlement, which provides in so easie a manner for so many different Interests, without wronging any of the Parties? Yes, a most rare one indeed! since it satisfies a whole Nation without dispossessing or disobliging one single *Olive-rian*!

To make it clearer to your Lordship, we must look back, and call to mind how *Cromwell's* Rump Parliament, which was neither fix'd in a Place, nor competent in number, took upon it to divide among those of its own Faction, the spoils of the Irish subdued in the

Year

Year 1653. who till then from the Peace made Anno 1648. maintain'd at their own expence the Interest of the Crown in that Kingdom against those very Cromwellians, who not content with cutting off the Head of K. *Charles I.* their lawful Sovereign, with driving out of the three Kingdoms all the Royal Family, and persecuting them even in Foreign Countries, for many Years, as far as they cou'd; but would have served K. *Charles II.* the Son, after they had fought and defeated him at *Worcester*, as they did the King his Father, had not Divine Providence miraculously prevented it, by facilitating every where the Means for him to escape their Fury, and re-pass the Seas to seek that security for his Royal Person among Strangers, which his own Cromwellian Subjects (good Protestants !) refused him.

Ten Counties were given to the Adventurers, or London-Merchants, by this pretended Parliament: Twelve were distributed among *Cromwell's* Soldiers: and three of the worst and barenest (whereof the Land was scarce worth looking after) were abandoned as by way of Charity, to those who were stript of their own rich, fertile, and ancient Patrimony: These in all make 25 Counties; as for the other seven (for *Ireland* contains but 32) which are so many petit Provinces, with all the great Towns and Cities of the Kingdom, which the Common-wealth had not dispos'd of, were reserved by the Declaration, to supply all Deficiencies, defray all publick Charges or Incumbrances, and satisfy the pleasant Demands of the Officers of 1649.

After this famous Settlement of the Declaration, which comprehend every Inch of Land in the Kingdom, it Orders That an immediate Restitution of their whole Estates be made to the 500 Irish Persons of Quality who followed and served the King in *Flanders*, provided (a thing impossible) that other Funds of equal Worth and Value with those Estates be first found, to Compensate those who are in Possession of 'em; be they Adventurers, Soldiers, or others: A thing as likely and as feasible as that the Ocean, out of respect to the Declaration, should withdraw and leave us as much Land as would make another *Ireland*.

This Declaration, my Lord, was published the 30th of November, and Broghil at the same time made Earl of Orrery, Charles Coot Earl of Montmarch, and both of them, with Chancellor Eustace, made Lords Justices of Ireland,

Sir John Clotworthy, newly made Viscount Massereen, and Sir Audly Merwin, with others of the Cabal, stayed at Court to be always at hand to give Instructions, and furnish means to effect the Execution of this Declaration; and because those who never acted any thing either against the present King or his late Majesty, were the only Persons to be restored without any previous Formality. The Club faction concluded that it would be of no small Importance, nay, that now all depended on it, so to define and qualify an Innocent Man, as that it should be morally impossible to find one in all Ireland. *Virum innocentem quis reperiet?*

To accomplish this Project, they required that in all those, who should undergo their Tryals, there should be found eleven Qualifications all as rigid and severe, as new.

Clotworthy and his Associates persuaded themselves that there was not a Man in all Ireland who could escape so many poison'd Arrows untouch'd, nor consequently avoid falling into a Trap so well laid to catch him; for not only those, who had neither taken Arms for one side or the other, nor enter'd into any Treaty with those who had taken Arms in their own Defence against the Parliamentarians, then enrag'd and unmuzzel'd against the King himself and all those, whom they knew to be most affected to him; if they did but pay Contribution to secure their Estates, their Tenants, and Themselves, from Pillage and Ruin, or but lived in the Counties subject to the Irish, were not only adjudged Nocent; but even those, who lived all the time of the War in England, or served at Oxford under the King's Banner, if they did but receive any Rents from their Tenants in Ireland, were counted guilty.

Among the rest of these Qualifications, that of having taken an Oath to Cromwell, which that Usurper forceably imposed on his Majesty's loyal Subjects, seems

not the least deserving to be taken notice of ; for it was exacted of the *Irish* in so violent and barbarous a manner, that the refusers were not only excluded from all Benefit of the Laws, but went in evident Danger of their Lives, from the public Orders given to *Cromwell's* Soldiers to give Quarters to none they met with, who had not a Certificate about him, of having taken the Oath. Orders which were cruelly executed even on poor Peasants, whom the inhumanity of the Soldiers shewed no Mercy to, when through ignorance or forgetfulness they left their Certificates behind them.

And is it not strange, my Lord, that the Authors and Contrivers of this detestable Oath, who had freely and voluntarily sign'd it without compulsion, and had constrained others to swear and subscribe it, are not question'd for violating the Fidelity they ow'd to their lawful Prince ; whilst those who abhorred the thoughts of it even when forced upon them, who from the bottom of their Hearts detested it at all times, and never subscribed it but at the last extremity, to avoid the infamy of a violent Death, are found guilty, their Estates forfeited and given to the Framers and Imposers of this Oath ?

This, my Lord, weigh'd and consider'd as it ought, is alone more than enough to shew, what we may judge of the other Qualifications ; if, *Ex congue Leonem*.

This being over, the Caballists, to give the finishing stroke to their work, met with no great difficulty to get themselves named, by the Chancellor, their Protector's means, sole Commissioners for the execution of a Declaration of their own coining, and whereof every Article was calculated for their private Interest.

A Method so extraordinary of doing Justice, and whereof no example was ever read in any History or Country (to see one of the contending Parties made Judge of the other) appeared so amazing and horrid to the Irish, that most of them could not believe his Majesty was yet fully restored to the free exercise of the Regal Power throughout his Dominions ; observing withal that the same Persons who cruelly tyrantz'd over them in the Usurper's time, were now advanced not only to Places

of the greatest Honour and Profit in the Kingdom; but also empower'd Sovereignly to Judge, and finally determine the Claims, Rights and Titles of the unhappy People of that Country; which was downright Robbing them of their Estates, and of all hopes of Justice.

This new way of proceeding bore so severely hard upon the Irish, whom it ruined without resource, and did so shock all the impartial honest Men in *England*, that other methods, in appearance more plausible and less shameful, but in reality as destructive and unjust, were taken, which are as followeth.

The Court newly erected to hear the Claims of those who justly expected to be restored to their Estates was dissolved, and the Lords Justices ordered to call a Parliament, which met the 8th of *May* 1661. The Commons were all *Cromwellians*; and special care was taken that very few Irish Peers should be admitted to the House of Lords.

The first Act of this Parliament was that which they call, "An Act for explaining some Doubts arising upon an Act, entitled," An Act for the better execution of his Majesty's gracious Declaration for the settlement of his Kingdom of *Ireland*, &c. By this Act it is Declar'd, that wherever any Doubt or Difficulty shall arise touching the true meaning thereof, it shall always be construed in Favour of those *Cromwellian* Protestants, against the Natives of the Country, to whom it allows but a Year's time to prove their Innocence in. To confirm which, take the very Words of the Act it self, viz. "And it is Enacted, that all and every the Clauses in this, or the said former Act contained, shall be construed, expounded, and taken in all Courts and Places whatsoever most liberally and beneficially, for the protecting, settling, and establishing the Persons, Estates and Interest of Protestants who are principally (*rather solely*) intended to be settled and secured, &c. by these Presents."

And those Persons of Quality of the Nation, who followed and served the King in his Banishment, whilst his Authority and Kingdoms were Usurped by these very Protestants and their Adherents (if we except Ten, who

who were restored for particular Considerations) are depriv'd of all hopes of being restored to their Inheritance, from the impossibility of fulfilling that absurd Condition of the Declaration, which required that the actual *Cromwellian* Possessors of such Inheritance, should first have Lands of equal Worth and Value, with what they were to refund, assigned unto them. *Sed lanam a Capra prius exigeris.*

I cannot pass by an Emphasis in the Preamble of this Act, without shewing the ridiculousness of it. It says, That the Irish Rebels were subdued in his Majesty's absence (a shamed I suppose to own Exile, and through whose Fault) by his Protestant Subjects; the impudence of which is the most bare-faced that ever was; for those subdued Rebels fought first under the Command of the D. of *Ormond*, Lieutenant-General for the King in that Kingdom; and after him, under the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, also Lieutenant-General for his Majesty: Where as those victorious Protestant Subjects were, *Cromwell, Ireton, Jones, Renol, Broghil, Coot, Venable, Hewison, Axtel*, and all those other Traytors, who had no other Reason to Massacre those Rebels, but that they refused to submit to them and to their pretended Common-wealth, and for inviolably standing firm to *Charles Stewart* (for so in derision did these brave Protestant Subjects then style him) but now that the Scene is alter'd, they likewise change their Language, and establish for a Fundamental Law, if that can be endured, that the Irish Rebels were reduced by his Majesty's Protestant Subjects.

Matters being thus carried on, with the King's consent, who was surpris'd into it, contrary to his good Intentions: Sir *Richard Rainsford*, and the rest of the Commissioners appointed by the King to see this Act put in Execution, arriv'd at *Dublin* about . . . 1662, who, after having spent some time in studying and examining the Act, plainly saw that none but the Ten Persons before mentioned, and inserted in the Act, and those who could fully clear their Innocence (a thing next to impossibility, considering what Qualifications were required in order to it) could be restored to their Estates, no colour being left for the rest of the Natives, so much

as to pretend to it. The first sitting of these Commissioners was the . . . , of *February*, and continued to the . . . of *August* following ; during which time near a thousand Irish were heard ; and notwithstanding all the Art us'd to find them guilty, as well by corrupt Witnesses gained, some by threatenings, and some by Money ; as from the severe Test of the said Eleven tyrannical Qualifications, the better part of them were declared Innocent of all the Matters imputed to them as high Crimes. Yet in the Province of *Ulster* there were but 3 restored, viz. The Marquis of *Antrim*, who notwithstanding all the Artifice used by the Caballists to prevent it, and to cloud the conspicuous Merit of a Person whose Power and Zeal to serve the Royal Family, and support the Monarchy, were, in the Eyes of Republicans, too dangerous in such Hands, to stand in their way on any future Attempt, had, in addition to his Majesty's Certificate, under his Royal Signature of the signal Services the said Marquis had done, both in his private Negotiations, &c. to the Crown ; this Testimony of his Loyal Behaviour in the very Act call'd *The Explanation Act*, which I wish, for many good Reasons, the whole Herd of Adventurers, Soldiers, Forty-nine Men, &c. could but say half so much in favour of themselves with any Colour of Justice, viz.

‘ His Majesty reflecting upon the many Services
 ‘ heretofore performed by the said Marquis towards his
 ‘ Royal Father of blessed Memory, and some eminent
 ‘ Services done by the said Marquis for his Majesty
 ‘ himself ; the said Marquis besides assisting him with
 ‘ Arms and Admunion when he was in the *West*, furnish’d him with Ships to make his Escape into Foreign Parts, when his Armies were defeated in the
 ‘ *West* ; and considering that his Majesty’s Mercy (*what
 ‘ can be said more in few Words, to shew the Guilt of
 ‘ those People, and that it is Mercy rather than Merit
 ‘ that qualifies and intitles them to Estates*) is by this
 ‘ Act extended to some who have as much demerited ;
 ‘ is graciously pleased that it may be Enacted, &c. And
 ‘ be it Enacted, that the Commissioners for the Execution of this Act shall forthwith, and without staying

for any previous Reprizal, set out, restore and allot unto the said Marquis of *Antrim*, &c. all and singular the Honours, Mannors Castles, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, and all other the Estate, Right, Title and Interest whereof the said *Randal* Lord Marquis of *Antrim*, or any other Person in trust for him, or to his use was seized or possessed on the 22d of *October*, 1641."

A strange thing ! for all Reward to have his own. The next restored in *Ulster*, was Sir *Henry O Neil*, and a third whose Name I remember not. In the Province of *Conaught*, but Four, viz. the Earl of *Clonrickard*, the Lord *Mayo*, Colonel *John Kelly*, and Colonel *Moore*.

The time limited for this Examination being expired, Sir *Richard Ransford*, a Man of Probity and Conscience, thought it but reasonable to sue for more time to hear the Claims, and do right to those who could not be heard within the year, being 7000 in number, and who all had as much Right to demand their own, by all the Rules of Law and Justice, till they were heard and found guilty, as those who had undergone their Tryals, according to the received Maxim, That every one is reputed Innocent till he is proved the contrary ; especially where he offers to submit to the Decision of so rigid and severe a Tribunal ; for those of the Nation who had been in Arms before the Peace of 1648, did not pretend to be restored by Virtue of their Innocence, but insisted on the Benefit of the General Pardon, and the Articles of a solemn Peace, after having well deserved it, at the expence of their Blood and Fortunes, and with a Fidelity without Blemish and above Temptation, in his Majesty's Service since the Conclusion of the said Peace.

The first Minister absolutely refusing any further time, the Court was forc'd to break up, and Chancellor *Hide* resolv'd to continue none in the Office of a Judge who was not in Interest concerned in the Matter, made no scruple to raise those to that Dignity, who retained themselves the unjust Possession of those Estates, which were claim'd of them. *Fine Justice ! Admirable Hopes !*

After.

After this the Parliament made the above-mentioned explanatory Act to their first, which they sent into *England* in *May* 1664. By this new Act, which the People of that Country looked upon as the work of some Devil, it was ordain'd, That for the future none of the Natives of the Kingdom, who had not been decreed Innocent by the former Act, should pretend either in Virtue of their Innocence, or the Act of Indemnity, to any Grace or Favour. I here insert the very Words of the Act as they are, *viz.* " And it is hereby declared, That no
 " Person or Persons, who by the Qualifications in the
 " said former Act hath not been adjudged Innocent,
 " shall at any time hereafter be reputed Innocent, so as
 " to Claim any Lands or Tenements hereby vested, or
 " be admitted to have any Benefit or Allowance of any
 " future adjudication of Innocence, or any Benefit of
 " Articles whatsoever, but that they and every of them,
 " and all and every Person or Persons claiming by,
 " from, or under him, or any of them, shall be, and
 " are hereby barr'd and excluded of, and from all and
 " singular Claims and Demands, not particularly allow'd and provided for by this present Act."

To cover the Breach of publick Faith, the Violation of human and divine Law, the so little regard had to the Laws of Nations, and give some colour of Justice to an Act so directly contrary to the Great Charter and Fundamental Laws of *England*, which expressly say, That " Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel Imprisonetur,
 " aut disseisietur de aliquo libero tenemento suo, vel libertatibus, vel liberis consuetudinibus suis, aut ut
 " legetur, aut exulet, aut aliquo alio modo destituatur,
 " nisi per legem terræ, & per legale Judicium Parium
 " suorum, fidelibus testibus ad hoc inductis." And in the same Charter, " Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus,
 " aut nulli differemus Rectum, vel Justitiam." And in the 37th Chap. it says, " If any thing be procured by any Person, contrary to the Premises, it
 " shall be had of no force nor effect." To cover, I say, so apparent an Injustice, and a Proceeding so contrary to the Laws of God and Man, in condemning so many thousand Christian Inhabitants of a Country,
 without

without so much as hearing what they could say in their own Defence. It was ordered by the same Act that some 54 Irish Gentlemen, who perhaps might have deserv'd some particular Marks of his Majesty's Favour, and whose Names were inserted in the Act, should be restor'd to their Mansion-houses or Principal-seats, with 2000 Acres of Land thereunto adjoining ; but still with that ridiculous Exception, that the Adventurers, Soldiers, and the Officers of 1649. who were to give up so much, should be first secured of other forfeited Lands of equal Worth and Value.

But this Act takes no notice (and that designedly) of those Irish who were transplanted into the barren Countries, because that if the Stock of Reprisal should come short of satisfying the new Adventurers, Soldiers and Officers of 1649. or those whom the King out of his free Gift and special Favour was pleas'd to give Grants to, and were to restore the Estates they possess'd by virtue of such Grants, to such Owners of 'em as had made out their Innocence ; or in fine, those ten Persons mentioned in the first Act, as I have said before, that they might have the mortification of being stript a second time : and further, that if all these should be provided for, then their 54 Country-men and three or four more, who were to be restor'd by the additional Act, might be repriz'd at their Costs.

I could quote many more Instances all tending to the utter Ruin of the true Natives, and reducing 'em to the hard choice of seeking Sanctuary in Foreign Countries, rather than languish at home under too much Oppression, of which we seem altogether unsensible, as not so nearly touching us ; nay, hardly believing the Truth on't tho' never so well attested. So far doth our blind Prejudice to that Nation sway over the Christian Rule of *Loving our Neighbours as ourselves* ; but would think extream hard, were it so feelingly our own Case.

This Act with all its different Settlements, and back'd with the Authority of the first Minister, and compos'd by the King's Attorney-General, who employ'd all his Rhetorick and profound Knowledge in the Law in the

Wording

Wording of it ; this Act, I say, so strongly supported, pass'd the King's Broad Seal at *Salisbury* the 25th of *July* 1665, notwithstanding the blackness of its Injustice, and the vigorous Opposition given it by such Men of Integrity and Honour, as could not approve of its wicked Designs.

The Chancellor, in acknowledgment of his Favour to forward so glorious a Work, received a considerable Sum of Money, and an Estate of 6000 l. *per annum* for his Son ; and the mercenary Pains of the other were rewarded with a Fee of 6000 l. Sterling.

About the same time the just Hand of God struck us with that Terrible Plague, which began with devouring the City of *London* : and I remember to have then heard, with my own Ears, several Persons of Note, and of tender Conscience, accuse themselves and affirm, that it was but a just Punishment of Heaven upon us all, for the Injustice done to the Irish Nation.

It is now above two Years since this Act passed in *Ireland*, and tho' it says, that the 54 Irish Gentlemen therein mentioned shall be restored to such of their Principal Seats with 2000 Acres of Land therunto adjoining, as within two Months after the first sitting of the Commissioners for Execution of the Act, they shall respectively choose ; yet not one foot is restor'd to them to this hour : Which so well agrees not only with *Brog-bil's* late Railery on this Subject, who, being reproach'd that those Gentlemen received no Benefit by being nam'd in the Act, answered, ' Pardon me, the Act never intended by naming of them to restore them indeed ; but to shew that they had a Right to be restored.' *Restaurandi nomine, no re.* And yet the Sophister himself, who hath nothing of a Christian but the Name, could have the Face to assure his Majesty, that there were Lands enough to satisfy the Pretensions of every one concern'd ; but also with that most special Clause, surpassing all the rest in Iniquity, which requires (because People's Loyalty taught them to follow their Prince in Banishment, and thereby learn to suffer and starve, and become stockless) to suffer and starve on still till Doomsday, rather than disturb the possession of those

Leeches who, living on the Fat of the Land during the King's absence, had, from Beggars they were before, got Wealth enough at the Crown's and its true Supporter's Expence, to stock the whole Kingdom. The Clause thus.

‘ We add, that since the Persons of the Irish, for whom we do hereby intend Satisfaction (*and never had it*) are such who have been abroad with us, who probably being not furnished with Stock and other Provisions, may with less Inconveniency wait for reprisal, than to disposses others (*the Usurpers of our Authority*) especially since we are fully assured that a short time may, and will, assign them respective Reprisal, there being so good and large a proportion of undisposed forfeited Lands in our Power reserved for this purpose; and we doubt not (*a pretty Compliment*) but the Persons concerned in this supposed (*mark the Contradiction*) Prejudice, throughly weighing these Inconveniencies, and that they will be but of a short duration, and how great and reasonable a Dissatisfaction of a contrary acting will produce, will acquiesce therein, and by such a forbearance lay the Foundation of a good Understanding between themselves, and those other their Fellow-Subjects, who are to be settled with them in that our Kingdom.’

This short Abridgment, my Lord, is a lively Portraiture of the Affairs of Ireland from the time of his Majesty's happy Restoration to this hour, as to Matter of Fact: Let us now, by your Lordship's leave, proceed to that of Right, and examine a little by what Title do those People appropriate to themselves the Estates of that unhappy Nation, whose sole forfeiting Crimes are their Religion and Loyalty. This may be reduc'd to four principal Heads.

The first shall be that of the *London* Merchants, whom we call Adventurers. The second that of the Soldiers. The third of the Protestant Officers of 1649. And the fourth of those who are refused the Benefit of Innocence. Let us begin with the Adventurers:

These are certain Citizens of *London*, who in the Year 1641. were forward to advance Money under pretence of Reducing the Irish Rebels (tho' their chief

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Aim and primary Intention, as time has since visibly discover'd, was by the Advance and Employ of that Money to Dethrone the King) upon Condition nevertheless that they should receive of the Rebel's Lands proportionably to the Sums by them so advanced, pursuant to an act of our *English* Parliament expressly made to that purpose, and requiring that the said Money should be applied to no other Use or Purpose than reducing the said Rebels, until they should be Declared by Lords and Commons to be reduced, &c. It is further Enacted by the same Act, that as soon as both House of Parliament should, by Order, declare the Rebels to be entirely subdued, a Commission should be issued out under the Broad Seal of *England*, to make a strict enquiry throughout the four Provinces of *Ireland* of the forfeited Estates, in order to divide them among those Citizens, who had thus advanced their Money. And that you may have it in the very Words of the Act it self, take them as followeth: ' And be it further Enacted, that when ' the Lords and Commons of this Realm of *England* ' shall, in Parliament, by Order declare, that the said ' Rebels are subdued, and that this present Rebellion ' in the said Kingdom of *Ireland* is appeas'd and ended, ' that forthwith, after such Declaration made and sent ' to the Lord Chancellor, or the Lord Keeper of the ' Great Seal of *England* for the time being, the said ' Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, is hereby authorized and required to Issue forth Commissions into all ' the said four Provinces of that Kingdom of *Ireland*, ' for the Surveying and setting forth of the said two ' Millions and half of Acres, which Commission shall ' be to such Effect, and directed to such Persons as the ' said Lords and Commons in Parliament shall appoint which said Commissioners ' shall return all their Proceedings therein, fairly Ingross'd in Parchment, into his Majesty's Court of Chancery of this Kingdom, there to remain of Record, and ' into his Majesty's Court of Chancery of the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, to remain there likewise of Record.'

Not one of all these things has ever been perform'd; for in the first place that Money was so far from being
employed

employed in reducing the Rebels in *Ireland*, that it was all or most laid out in buying Arms and other Warlike Provisions to levy War in *England* against the King. Like Employ ! like Title !

Secondly, the Rebels have never yet been thus declared intirely subdued, nor has any Commission under the Broad Seal been issued out, no more than those necessary consequences of it, expressly required by the Act, observed.

It is true that some corrupt pretended Members of the House of Commons, after having separated themselves from their lawful Head, the King, or rather his Head from his Royal Shoulders, and next to him, from the noblest and most essential part of Parliament, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and who consequently had no Right or Power to act or determine any thing but what they arrogated to themselves by their bare-fac'd Rebellion and Usurpation, declared in the Year 1652. without any Concurrence of the House of Lords, nor indeed of the soundest or major part of the Commons, the Rebels subdued (tho' it was notoriously known that those very Rebels continu'd still in Arms defending the banished King's Right in that Kingdom till the Year 1653.) and at the same time ordered Ten Counties for those City Merchants, without issuing any Commission under the Great Seal, or examining whether those Lands were in strictness forfeited or no.

The last Adventurers, who, for hazarding their Money advanced it on Condition that it should yield them so much again as the first, had a large Dividend of these ten Counties ; because they advanced it to that Sacrilegious Long Parliament which slew in his Majesty's Face, and attack'd him with arm'd Force ; and that without the help of that Money, neither the late King would have so tragically ended his Days, nor his present Majesty have occasion to undergo so many Hardships in his cruel and long Exile ; and yet such Crimes intitle 'em to, and vest them in the Estates of the Irish, who are for no other Reason deprived of them, then for having been as true and faithful to the King, in opposing his Enemies ; as those had been

been zealous Cromwelians, and fierce Persecutors of the Royal Family.

The late King, sensible of the nullity of this Act, was never heard to mention one Word of the Adventurers in any of his Treaties with the Confederate Irish; which so sincere a Lover of Justice as King *Charles I.* was, would never have been silent in, had he thought himself under any Obligation by that Act to make good to them those Estates which he well knew they had no Right to.

But let us suppose that the Act 17 *Caroli*, made in Favour of the first Adventurers be good in Law; can the new Adventurers who are to have as much again as the first, expect it should support them? Nay, how can even the first Adventurers themselves, whose Money was apply'd to quite other Uses than the relieving the Protestants in *Ireland*, and reducing the Rebels, pretend to any Benefit of it, or consequently any Right to those Estates, or insist on any Agreement made with them about them? No, not only that these can't; but even those whom we look upon as true Adventurers, and are but few in number, and whose Money was really laid out to carry on the War in *Ireland*, cannot legally keep the Estates of the Irish, till first both Houses of Parliament have declared the Rebels entirely subdued, till they have issued out a Commission under the Great Seal to distinguish and declare the Innocent from the Innocent; and, in short, till all those Formalities expressly required by the Act are performed, and a just Division or Allotment be made of the real forfeited Estates and of no other.

The first Minister of State, formerly a Lawyer by Profession, can neither be ignorant of, nor deny this, be his regard for Truth never so little; nor indeed doth he scruple to make his Royal Master own it in his Declaration for the Settlement of *Ireland*, in these Words:
 ' And therefore in the first place, in order to a settle-
 ' ment of that Interest claim'd by the Adventurers,
 ' altho' the present Estates and Possessions they enjoy,
 ' if they were examined by the strict Letter of the Law,
 ' would prove very defective and invalid, as being no
 ' ways

ways pursuant to those Acts of Parliament, upon which they pretend to be founded. Yet we being always more ready to consult with our natural Inclination to Mercy, than with the positive Reason of Law: We do hereby declare, that all the Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, of which all or any of the Adventurers were possessed the 7th Day of May, 1659. having been allotted or set out to them (*by the Rebel-Pretended Parliament or Assembly aforesaid*) or enjoyed by them as Adventurers in Satisfaction of, and for their Adventures, shall be confirmed and made good to them, their Heirs and Assigns for ever.'

Could any thing be said more to shew the groundlessness of the Adventurers Title deriv'd from the Act 17 Car. 2. and could the chief Minister of Justice pronounce a more unjust Sentence than to say, altho' these Criminal Adventurers have no Right to the Estates in question; yet its my Pleasure and the King's Mercy to adjudge 'em for them, against positive Reason of Law and Justice. These Lands are neither more nor less than ten Counties. The Pretenders to 'em are the old Irish Proprietors and the London Adventurers. The first have in their Favour a lawful, peaceable Possession of many hundreds of Years, without Interruption or Discontinuance; their Titles, their Deeds, their Charters and their Contracts shew it. They are turned out of them for having inviolably adher'd, and adhering still to this hour to their lawful Sovereign, whom these Adventurers helped to Dethrone and bring to the Block, by furnishing those great Sums of Money, for which they are now so liberally rewarded at the Expence of the Loyal Irish.

The last Adventurers can set up no other Title, as by the very Words of the Act itself appears, than to have been warranted by an Usurp'd Government to advance vast Sums of Money towards supporting the Rebellion, overthrowing the Monarchy, and building their own Darling Common-Wealth upon its Royal Ruins; yet these Paracides are, by the Settlement of Ireland, recompensed with the ancient Inheritance of those who

only

only forfeited for a steady adherence to their Duty. Good God! what Justice?

The second Article relates to the Cromwelian Soldiers, whose Interest in that Country and the upholding of it, has been no small Obstacle to the restoring of the Irish, though the 17 Car. 1. says not one Word of them, and that they can pretend no other Colour to detain the Estates they Usurp, than what their Swords, always Imploy'd both against his late Majesty and the present King, have got them. No matter; a Service so glorious, and so deserving a *Monumentum ære perennius*, must be requited with the Spoils of the Unfortunate Irish, not in one City or County alone, but in 12 large Counties of the Kingdom.

I don't believe there is that Man breathing, who dare countenance, much less defend, so odious a Title; for the most avow'd Patrons of these Soldiers will never pretend to maintain it lawful, no nor even admit it in Plea in any Court of Judicature, yet they were often heard to say, that it was at least convenient to keep them in their Possessions, tho' unjustly acquired. I fancy we'll meet but with very few other Politicians, especially among those who follow the Gospel of Christ, that will approve of such Convenience: It would much more become the Dignity and Probity of a Chancellor to say, let Justice be done, happen what will, *Fiat Justitia, aut ruat Cælum*, than we must do what's convenient, tho' contrary to Equity.

It's an admirable convenience indeed! to drive old Proprietors, ever faithful to the King, fighting his Battles at home to preserve his Right, and prodigal of their Blood in all other Parts of the World abroad, his Service required it, to drive 'em, I say, from their ancient Estates, in order to give and secure 'em, for ever to Fanatical Soldiers, devoted Servants to *Oliver Cromwell*, and sworn Enemies to the Crown.

This first Minister of State, the Soul of all these Deliberations and Counsels, to prove and uphold an Expedient so unjust, used to draw the Strength of his Arguments from the too great Power of the Cromwelians in Ireland in this manner. : The *English* Troops are
: very

‘ very numerous in *Ireland*, they are well arm’d, and
 ‘ are Masters of all the Cities and strong Holds in the
 ‘ Kingdom ; so that it would be dangerous to provoke
 ‘ them ; and even the necessity of our present Affairs o-
 ‘ bliges us to protect them in their Acquisitions ; for
 ‘ in this Case, we are not so strictly to consider Equity
 ‘ and Right, as to accommodate our selves to the
 ‘ Times.’

This Bugbear of an Argument used to be repeated at the Council-Board as a *Ne plus ultra* ; but perhaps this mighty Statesmen with all his profound Policy had not time enough to reflect that the same Argument and the same Reasons might as well have served to confirm all the Cromwelians in *England* in their Usurpations of the Royal Authority, of the Church and Crown Lands, and of the Estates of several of the Nobility and Gentry, which by their Rebellion and Parricide they made themselves Masters of ; and yet were they not turned out at a time they had Arms in their Hands, had possession of all the Places of Strength in the Nation (and were much more numerous, and far better provided with all manner of Necessaries, and therefore more formidable than those in *Ireland*) without Noise, Disturbance or Danger ?

I have travell’d, my Lord, all over the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and I can affirm to your Lordship that the ancient Inhabitants are ten to one of the new, and therefore more considerable : But the vast Sums of Money given, have gained the corrupt Soul of this Minister, and Gold has broke through the Sanctuary of Justice, to make room for Iniquity, and give way to oppress Innocence in a crueller manner than any, the most barbarous Tyrants, ever invented. But let us grant those Troops to be as many, and as powerful, as our narrow-Soul’d, Cowardly Minister would fain represent them, are they near as many or as powerful (as I have already said) as those we saw of their Stamp in *England* at the time of the King’s Restoration ; and yet have not *these* been disbanded in less than three Months time, without trouble or pain ? Whereas *those* in *Ireland* are needlessly kept in Pay now above seven Years, by reason

whereof his Majesty receives no Revenue out of so large and fertile a Kingdom ; but on the contrary, is obliged yearly to transmit thither out of *England* great Remittances for the Subsistence of so useless an Army.

For my part, I can't comprehend how the King could so securely, and with so little difficulty, disarm Cromwell's Troops in *England*, and cannot with the same Ease, and with as little Danger, disarm those in *Ireland*, where their Strength is less, their Charge, all Things considered, more burthensome, and themselves of no use.

If it be answered, that for want of Money they could not be Casheer'd all at once ; could it not be done by degrees, and by Regiments, in seven or eight Years time ?

I think I have sufficiently made it appear, that those Cromwellian Tyrants have no other Colour of Right but what is grounded upon the bare Pleasure of the King, surpriz'd by the Attifice of his Prime Minister, who keeps up these Troops for some sordid, if not criminal End of his own.

Let this Favourite, who fills his Master's Soul with a Fear more than servile, in order to make him tolerate Injustice, take care that his Malice or Ignorance, be not one Day detected, and the consequences soon attend him, by being measured unto, as he measures to others.
Rex est, qui posuit.

The third Article, obstru'cting the Irish even to Despair, is the Interest of the Officers of 1649, before mentioned, who served either under the King or for the Parliament all the time before that Year, the Arrears of whose Pay, by themselves well calculated, amounts to eighteen hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, for the payment of which Sum (whereof the tenth part could never be due to them) the best and richest part of the Kingdom, which every Body knows to be worth Millions, is assign'd to them, without examining the extravagance of their Accounts, and without considering that the most part of these very Officers had been actually engaged in the Rebellion of the Year 1649. and the precedent Years ; as among others, the Earls of

Orrery and *Montrath*, the Lords *Kingsdown* and *Colony*, Sir *John Cole*, Sir *Theophilus Jones*, Sir *Oliver St. George*, and many others; or at least in a short time after, deserted the King's Standard to join the Usurper; which piece of Service *Cromwell* rewarded very liberally.

These Officers are invested not only with the Lands and Lordships of four large Counties, to wit, the Counties of *Wicklow*, *Longford*, *Leitrim* and *Donegal*; but with all the Wall'd Towns and Cities, and the Lands thereunto belonging, throughout all *Ireland*, and all within a Mile of the River *Shannon*; and of the Sea-side, commonly call'd *Mile-Line*, in the Province of *Connaught* and County of *Clare*, and the Benefit accruing out of the Redemption of all Mortgages, Statute-Staples, and Judgements, not already given or allotted to Adventurers or Soldiers, with other great advantages therein express'd, all belonging to the Irish, whose Right and Inheritance is not only thus disposed of (as any one taking pains to read the Act may see) but their very Deeds and Titles, declared void and forfeited.

And least all this might not satisfy that insatiable Crew, the last Act gives 'em 100,000 l. Sterling on a Year's revenue of the Adventurers, Soldiers, and such of the Irish as were restored to their Estates: Whilst the Irish Roman Catholick Officers (who all along steadfastly adhered to the King; faithfully served him at all Times, and on all Occasions, when all or most of these Protestant Officers deserted him in *Ireland*, in order to serve under *Cromwell*, where their greatest Inclination lead 'em) because they bear the odious Name of *Papists* were thought unworthy any Favour or Reward (otherwise due to their signal Services) they, who generously and unanimously stood by their Prince, not out of Constraint, nor in view of aggrandizing themselves, adding to their Fortunes, or other Worldly End whatsoever; but excited by a Principle of true Religion, and Motive of Honour and Glory, to discharge the Duty of Allegiance they ow'd to their Lawful Sovereign: a Thing they did for five Years together with arm'd-

Force at their own Charges, and at the Expence of many thousand Lives of brave and gallant Men, who rather than abandon the Justice of the Cause, or not seal their Loyalty with their Blood, were all sacrific'd without spot or stain.

And is it less surprizing that these few Protestant Officers, who scarce served two Years in *Ireland*, should be rewarded with 180,000 l. Sterling; and that our Loyal *English* Officers and Soldiers (who infinitely surpass them in number, served the King three times longer, were never tainted with Treason, Desertion or Parricide, and who never made Self-Interest the ground of their Loyalty) had among them all, without distinction of Religion or Country, but 70,000 l. Sterling; and, even that, to be distributed but among the poorest of them, who had neither Estates nor Employments in the Common-wealth to keep them from starving.

And why, I beseech you, shall the Commanders of four or five Garisons in *Ireland* (who pillag'd and plunder'd those very Garisons, &c. to ten times the Value of what could be justly due to them, and then betray'd them to *Cromwell*) be made Proprietors of four large Counties, and of all the great Towns and Cities in a Kingdom, with an Assignment of 100,000 l. Sterling in Money, &c. while all the Loyalists in *England* (who not only had one single little Parish given among them all; but not so much as one foot of Land in any Town or City of the Kingdom) are over-look'd, as if they deserved nothing?

Is it that Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Newcastle*, the Marquis of *Montrose*, the Earls of *Bristol*, *Barkley*, *Rocheſter*, *Gerrard*, and those other Prime Nobility and Gentry of *England* and *Scotland*, deserved less the Arrears of what was due to them, and what they had expended in his Majesty's Service, than these Protestant Worthies of 1649? Do we make no other Difference betwixt the former and the latter? What great Convenience (for Justice there is none) to provide so largely for *these*, and take no manner of care of *them*? For it can't be alledg'd that his Majesty was obliged either by the Act 17 *Car.* 1. or by his Declaration from

Breda,

Breda, or by any Treaty whatsoever, to reward in so ample a manner the mercenary Service of those Protestant Officers who served for, and against him in *Ireland*, &c. and at the same time neglect and abandon to their Wants and Miseries an infinite number of other poor Officers and Soldiers, as well *English* as of other Nations, who have hardly wherewithal to cover their Nakedness, or Lodgings to retire to.

No, but of those Officers there are, who have either some real or seeming Merit which pleads for 'em ; and therefore the better to accomplish the intire Ruin of the Irish, to strengthen those of the Faction who have no Merit, and cover the Iniquity of the Design ; it's necessary to join them together, and grant them their Demands without Controul, though never so extravagant ; since none but the Irish are like to lose by it, according to the Rules of this final Settlement.

And to shew the specious fairness of the wicked Contrivers of this Settlement, and their pretended Detestation of the Betrayers of the before-mentioned Garisons into the Hands, or to the Forces of the Usurper ; they in very soft and tender Terms exclude 'em from enjoying (to use their own Words in the said Act) any Lands for their Arrears before the Year 1649. unless that, within two Years after the Date of the Act they make it appear to the Lord Lieutenant, or Chief Governor of *Ireland*, and six of the Privy Council, that they made some repair for their former Faults (their own Expression in the said Act) by their timely and seasonable appearance for the King's Restoration in the Year 1660. where to be sure they came off as cheap as it was intended, since the chief Governor and Council were all of a piece, and of the same mold and nomination with the head Managers of this whole Affair ; and that whatever slender repairs these blessed Reformers pretend to have made, they pass'd for more than sufficient to atone for Crimes, which, tho' in themselves the blackest, and in the Eyes of God and the impartial part of Mankind, the most execrably heinous ; were reckoned among the Party either meritorious Actions, or such small slips as were hardly worth men-

tioning ; for as in *John Calvin's* new-broach'd Theology, ' Let the Elect commit what Sins they will they ' are still just, and Babes of Grace, because they'll ' never be imputed to them as Faults : ' So, tho' the Elect Fanaticks of our Chancellor have been guilty of the highest Treason, and of a Rebellion of the deepest dye that ever was hatch'd ; yet they must pass for his Majesty's most faithful, and most obedient Protestant-Subjects, 'till another fair opportunity offers.

Thus, this chief Minister of State, violating all the Rules of Equity and Justice, by a distribution of Rewards, in so disproportionable a manner, and upholding his so-doing, with patch'd-up Reasons, hardly able to hold Water, alledging, That the Protestant Interest in *Ireland*, cannot be secur'd, but by ruining the Irish ; and concludes, that, the Irish must be wholly excluded from any share of the Estates, which the Commonwealth had not yet dispos'd of ; therefore, that the Protestant Interest may for the future stand inviolable, all reasonings of State must keep to, and be govern'd by that *Maxim*, notwithstanding all it's repugnancy to common Sense, and natural Equity.

But as this mighty Minister makes use of this Argument, as his last resource, it will not be amiss to examine a little this Touch-stone of Scandal, and set such a phantom Author, of so many monstrous Impieties, in a truer Light. Therefore in the first place,

As to what concerns the security of the Protestant Interest, it's certain the King ought to maintain it, as far as the Glory of God will allow it, the Laws of Nations, and the different Constitution of every Country require it.

But will any Man (be he never so zealous for his Religion) say, That whilst the King was Master of *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, he was obliged to exterminate the old Inhabitants, to send over a new Colony of English in their room ? The way to plant, spread, and establish true Religion *us'd* to be by Preaching, good Works, and pious Examples ; not by Tyranny, or by violent means : Nor is the breaking in unjustly upon our Neighbours Estates, and taking them from 'em with a high Hand,

Hand (because they are not of our Belief) the most inviting or Christian means to convert them.

The Wrongs and Injustices done to the Irish by Protestants in the Settlement of that Kingdom will not tend to their Edification, nay it will give 'em such an Abhorrence, and be an eternal Obstacle to their embracing a Religion, whereof they see the very chief Heads themselves so wicked; for all the World knows that the Confiscation of Estates was more aim'd at, and more particularly in view, than the Conversion of Souls: Which I can prove from the Instance of those, who, to preserve their Estates, offered to quit the Religion of their Ancestors wherein they had been bred, to become Protestants, but in vain.

Indeed if we consider Things with regard to the New English Interest, *viz.* the *London Merchant-Adventurers*, *Cromwell's Soldiers*, &c. its certain, that to do the Irish Justice, and *That*, can never stand together; for the Title of these sort of English will not hold, but by destroying that of the Irish; just as the Commonwealth sunk at the Restoration of the Monarchy, and the Usurp'd Power of Cromwell and his Successor vanished, on the happy return of the Royal Authority.

But if, by the English Interest we understand, as undoubtedly we ought, that of the Crown and of the true Nobility of that Nation, I see no reason why it may not be as well secured for 500 Years to come, or more, as it has been hitherto, with honour and advantage to the Crown, since *Henry II's* time, without ruining or extirpating its old Inhabitants. Why may not the English Government be as well preserved in *Ireland* without an intire Extermination of the Natives, as that of the *Spaniards* in *Naples*, and in *Flanders*? that of the *French* in *Alsace*, in *Roussillon*, and other conquer'd Countries? that of the *Swedes* in *Bremen*, and in *Pomerania*? that of the *Danes* in *Norway*? that of the *House of Austria* in *Hungary*? that of the *Venetians* in *Dalmatia*, *Morea*, &c. and that of the *Turks* in *Greece*, and many other Christian Provinces, whence they never

drove the Inhabitants, or took away their Estates, tho' they often took up Arms against 'em?

Heretofore the Rights and Conquests of Christian Princes used to be preserved by building of Forts and Citadels, by Punishments and Rewards, by erecting Magazines and keeping of Armies to awe their disaffected Subjects; and not by so inhuman means as the total extinction of the People they govern'd even by Conquest. On the contrary, we have but too many Examples in History, how several Princes after having rang'd their revolted Subjects to their Duty, and had graciously Pardon'd them, have also restor'd 'em to their Honours and Estates; nay, some have gone so far as to discharge 'em from the Allegiance they ow'd them, when either the Publick Tranquility and Safety requir'd it, or that they cou'd not be appeas'd otherwise, as the King of *Spain* did to the *Hollanders* in the Year 1609. and no doubt but a Prince may lawfully do all this, and give up his own Right, where the State of his Affairs, either to avoid a greater Evil, or to procure a greater Advantage, necessarily requires it.

But suppose the securing of this new *English* Interest, to be so precious and sacred a Thing; allow it warrantable to exterminate all the ancient Inhabitants of *Ireland* out of that Corner of the Earth, which the bountiful Hand of Almighty God providentially allotted for their Patrimony out of the spacious Globe of the Universe; What pretence or colour will our mighty-little Politician, this subtil, crafty Statesman, have to Root out so many Noble Families, originally *English*, who by their Valour, and at the Price of their honourable Blood, always acting by Royal Authority and Commission, acquir'd to the Imperial Crown of *England* all its Pretensions on that Kingdom since the Year 1169.

Now if this *Canibal-new English-Interest* gives no better Quarters to those Illustrious ancient Families of it's Nation, settled in *Ireland*, what can Strangers, or the first Inhabitants of that Kingdom, expect at their Hands? Nay, ought not even the Successors and Descendants of these very Soldiers and Adventurers, apprehend at this rate, least in the next Age a fresh swarm
of

English may come to supplant and destroy them, under pretence of further and better securing the English Interest in that kingdom? And may not we reasonably believe, that in an age or two after, these last will become a sacrifice to some other new undertakers; since we see that those who went to settle in *Ireland* in the beginning of the Reign of King *James I.* are spar'd no more than those, who, under *Henry II.* subdued that Nation, and afterwards made it their Country? so if we Pursue this Method, we shall never secure the *English* Interest in *Ireland*.

The Fourth and Last Obstacle hindering the Restoration of the Irish, ariseth from those whom the King gave great Estates to, at other People's expence in that Kingdom: The Title of these having no other Foundation than his Majesty's bare good Will and Pleasure, in making such Gifts to 'em, at the instigation of the Chancellor, &c. is plain enough of it self; for it can't be said, that his Majesty was by any Treaty or Promise; under Obligation to gratify his Courtiers and Favourites, with other Non-forfeiting Person's Estates.

What convenience, I'd fain know, was there to give the D. of *York*, the King's Brother, and Heir presumptive to three Kingdoms, the Estates of so many unfortunate Irish Gentlemen, who follow'd him every where thro' all the Degrees of his Misfortunes, and thereby expose his Royal Highness and his Posterity, to the Tears, Groans and woful Complaints of so many Widows, Orphans and Others, who, by this State-turn of *Clarendon*, are reduced to extream Misery, and whose daily Cries and feeling Sufferings call for Justice to the Omnipotent and all-seeing God, who never suffers such doings to escape unpunish'd, even in this World.

But that your Lordship may the better understand the Title of the Crown to those Estates, and consequently, that of those, to whom it made such large donations of 'em; you must observe, that one *Miles Corbet*, and other Regicides, having got vast Estates in *Ireland*, on the sole Merit of Rebellion, and having Joyfully pronounced the horrid and sacrilegious Sentence of Death against the late King, their lawful Sovereign; but ha-

ving been deservedly hang'd for the same, immediately after the Restoration of his present Majesty, and forfeiting the Estates of the Loyal *Irish*, whereof these King-Murderers, were actually seized and possess'd at, and before their Natural or civil Deaths, by Virtue of Cromwell's Grants thereof to them, in recompence of their Parricide, and whereof that Tyrant dispossessed the *Irish* for no other Cause than their unshaken Adherence to the Crown's Interest, against him and those very Parricides ; these Estates, I say, were given to the Duke of York ; as you may see by the following Proviso in the Act of Settlement, and confirmed by the Act of Explanation, in these Words, viz.

‘ Provided always, and be it hereby further Enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend to vest in his Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors, any the Honours, Castles, Messuages, Mannors, Lands, Tenaments and Hereditaments, whereof O. Cromwell deceased, Henry Ireton deceased, John Jones deceased, Daniel Axtel deceased, Gregory Clement deceased, Isaac Ewer deceased, John Bradshaw deceased, Thomas Andrews deceased, Thomas Hamond deceased, Sir Hardress Waller, John Hewson, Miles Corbit, Thomas Wagon, Edmond Ludlow, Edward Denty, John Lestie, Wm. late Lord Mounson, Cornelius Holland, Hen. Smith, Owen Row, Edmond Harvey, Nicholas Love, Edward Whaley, Thomas Pride, deceased, Wm. Say, Valentine Walton, John Berkstead, Sir Michael Livesey, John Okey, Wm. Gouffe, Thomas Challinor, Wm. Cawley, John Dixwell, Andrew Broughton, Thomas Harrison, Adrian Scroop, John Cartaw, Thomas Scot, Hugh Peters, Francis Hacker, Isaac Pennington, Henry Martin, Gilbert Millinton, Robert Tickburn, Robert Lilborn, John Downs, Vincent Potter, Angussine Garland, George Fleetwood, Simon Main, James Temple, Peter Temple, Tho. Wait, S. John Danvers, John Blackston, Sir Wm. Constable, Richard Dean, Francis Allyn, deceased, Peregrine Pelham, John Aldred alias Alured, Humphrey Edwards, John Wynn, Anthony Stapely, Thomas Horton, John Frey, James Challener, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir James Harrinton,

‘ Harrinton, John Phelps, or any of them, were at any
 ‘ time heretofore seized or possessed in their own Right,
 ‘ or any other in trust for them, or to their Use, or
 ‘ which at any time heretofore were given and granted,
 ‘ allotted, assigned or distributed, desposed, or conveyed
 ‘ to them or any of them, or any other in trust for them
 ‘ or any of them, or to any other Person or Persons claim-
 ‘ ing by, from, or under them, or any of them, in Sa-
 ‘ tisfaction of any Adventures, or Arrears due unto
 ‘ them or any of them, or for any other Recompence
 ‘ or Reward whatsoever, but the same and every of
 ‘ them shall be, and are hereby vested and settled in and
 ‘ upon his Royal Highness James, Duke of York, and
 ‘ Albany Earl of Ulster, &c. to have and to hold to
 ‘ his said Highness, his Heirs and Assigns, &c.’

Let all the World judge of the Validity of such a
 Title : I am mistaken if any Court of Justice in the
 Universe, will admit it pleadable even in favour of a se-
 cond or third Descent; unless where the Parties them-
 selves (as in this Case) are Judges; since *Nemo potest
 plus juris in alium transferre, quam ipse habet. Et Quod
 ab initio non valet, processu temporis, etiam longissimi,
 non convalescit.* And that *Injuste possidentur, quæ ex jus-
 to titulo, justa causa, & bona fide non possidentur;* as
 all Civilians and other Learned Lawyers agree; and
 as the Law, *Nullo iusto, Cod. De rei vindicatione* says,
*Ad præscriptionem requiritur iustus titulus; i. e. Causa
 habilis & sufficiens ad conferendum Dominium; titulus
 enim huiusmodi est causa justæ possessionis: justa autem
 possessio est proxima causa præscriptionis. Unde Regula
 juris; Absque iusto titulo non potest Dominium per usa-
 cationem, seu præscriptionem acquiri.* And as the Law,
Id quod nostrum. ff. De Reg. jur. says, *Quod nostrum est,
 sine facto nostro ad alium transferri non potest.*

I pass by those many other Courtiers of less Note, who,
 tasting his Majesty's Favours, wanted not their Shares
 in these Spoils through the Artifice of the prime Mi-
 nister, who resolved by these Means to rise and strength-
 en Enemies to a Nation he designed the Destruction of;
 and that by engaging so unexceptionable a Person as his
 R. Highness, &c. to partake of the Plunder, the Inte-
 rest

rest might be the better supported, his own violation of Justice, and his Friend's Usurpations might appear less horrid or barefac'd, to all such as were no Sufferers by it, and therefore would not enquire farther into the Matter, stuck at nothing to attain his End.

These are the odious Ways and Methods, by which the unpitied, tho' deserving Irish, are precluded from the very hopes of ever being restored to their Inheritance. And can any benefit be expected from what the Adventurers, and Soldiers are required to refund, in favour of the poor Irish, who were actually decreed Innocent, when the Court swallows all the Stock of Reprisal, by its daily exorbitant Grants thereof?

I have in as few Words as I could, laid before your Lordship, the Cruelties, with which the Irish Nation has been us'd since his Majesty's Restoration; and I have examined the Titles of those, who opposed their being restored: And now I hope it may not be improper to shew you in as brief a manner, the unquestionable Right, and lawful Title the Natives have to those Estates, confiscated by Virtue of *Cromwell's* Declaration, and that which the Chancellor prevail'd with the King to sign.

I will not undertake to Justifie their first Rising, tho' I have seen a *Latin* Treatise, proving the lawfulness of it, from an unavoidable necessity of Self-preservation, in defence of their Lives, Religion, and the entire Overthrow of the whole Kingdom, long before aimed at; and meditated by the restless undermining *English* and *Scotch* Presbyterians, who, at the same time, no less longed for, and push'd at the Dethroning and Murdering of the King, and the total Subversion of the whole Monarchy, as by too Tragical an experience the World has more than seen; for I'll never excuse any Subject living under a lawful Government, to take Arms on any pretence whatsoever, without express leave, or order from the supream lawful Governor. Yet I'll maintain that, in that Insurrection, as Cruel, and as Barbarous as some have taken no small pains to Paint it, and others (even many good and well meaning Men and Women) for want of true information, and dispos'd besides to believe

believe always the worst of that Nation, as greedily believ'd it: There dy'd six times more Catholicks than Protestants; and that not only from a most strict impartial enquiry made into the Matter of Fact, and from Publick Records still in Being, which verifie the same; but because the most part of the Protestants liv'd at that time, within the Wall'd Towns, Cities, Castles and places of Strength of the Kingdom, which secur'd them from all Insults of the People; and as for those, who liv'd in the Country, and for whom there was most to fear, they either retir'd into the Towns and Garisons in the beginning of the Troubles, and there dwelt with the rest, all the time of the War, or fled into *England*, or *Scotland*; so that very few were lost, except what were surpriz'd in the first Heat.

But with the Catholicks it was quite otherwise: They were expos'd on all sides to the Fury of their merciless Enemies, and Massacred for the space of 12 Years together; but as they were slaughter'd like so many Sheep, without pitty, the Effusion of their Blood made no Noise, at least in *England*, where the very Name of an *Irish Man*, whether of English or Old Irish Extraction, is alone a Crime, without considering that they are our Fellow-Christians and Subjects, and perhaps no less deserving all our Esteem and Justice. Whereas the loss of one Protestant, who had but the Misfortune to fall, even in the beginning of the Confusion, was multiplied to a hundred; and thousand Republicans made it their industrious Care and Business to repeat, like so many Eccho's, the Cruelties and Massacres of the Irish against their Protestant Party, there; not so much out of Love and Compassion to the Sufferers, as for more hidden and pernicious Ends, viz. to defame and blacken the King, to whom, by a more than Diabolical Malice, they attributed all the pretended Murthers committed on the Protestants in that Kingdom; and by that means, and other such Calumnies, animate the People against him; so that by this Artifice they murder'd him in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects, by stifling therein all Sentiments of Respect and Duty long before they brought him to the Block.

But

But how well grounded this Calumny is, either on his Majesty, or that Sir *Phelim O Neil* should charge his Majesty therewith, at the said Sir *Phelim's* Execution, as some modern Writers have not been ashamed to publish, let Dr. *John Ker*, Dean of *Ardagh*, then living, and Eye and Ear-witness of what he subscribes to, and I suppose the less exceptionable Witness in this Case, as he's a Divine of the Church of England, declare in his following Deposition.

- 1 *John Ker*, Dean of *Ardagh*, having occasionally discours'd with the R. H. *George L. Vis. Lansborough*, concerning the late Rebellion of *Ireland*; and his Lordship at that time having desired I should Certify the said Discourse under my Hand and Seal, do declare as followeth :

THAT I was present in Court when the Rebel Sir *Phelim O Neil* was brought to his Tryal in *Dublin*, and that he was try'd in that Court which is now the High Court of Chancery ; and that his Judges, were Judge *Donelan*, afterwards Sir *James Donelan*, Sir *Edward Bolton*, Knight, sometime Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, . . . *Dungan*, then call'd Judge *Dungan*, and another Judge whose Name I do not remember ; and that among other Witresses then brought in against him there was one *Joseph Travers*, Clerk, and one Mr. *Michael Harrison*, if I mistake not his Christian Name ; and that I heard several Robberies and Murthers proved against him the said Sir *Phelim* (as all that he and his People during their being in Arms had done, were then called) he having nothing material to plead in his own Defence ; and that the said Judge, whose Name I remember not as abovesaid, examin'd the said Sir *Phelim* about a Commission that the said Sir *Phelim* should have had from *Charles Stuart*, as the said Judge then call'd the late King, for levying the said War : That the said Sir *Phelim* made Answer, That he never had any such Commission ; and that it was proved then in Court by the Testimony of the said *Joseph Travers*, and others, that the said Sir *Phelim* had such a Commission, and did

in the beginning of the said Irish Rebellion shew the same unto the said *Joseph*, and several others then in Court. Upon which the said Sir *Phelim* confess'd, That when he surpriz'd the Castle of *Charlemont*, and the *L. Caulfeild*, that he order'd the said Mr. *Harrison* and another Gentleman, whose Name I do not remember, to cut off the King's Broad Seal from a Patent of the said Lord's, they then sound in *Charlemont*, and to affix it to a Commission, which he, the said Sir *Phelim* had order'd to be drawn up, and that the said Mr. *Harrison* did in the Face of the whole Court confess, that, by the said Sir *Phelim*'s Orders, he did stitch the Silk Cord, or Label of that Seal, to the said Commission? And that the said Sir *Edward Bolton*, and Judge *Donelan* urging the said Sir *Phelim* to declare why he did so deceive the People, he answered, That no Man could blame him to use all means whatsoever, to promote the Cause he had so far engag'd in: And that upon the second Day of his Tryal, some of the said Judges told him, that if he cou'd produce any material Proof, that he had such a Commission from the said *Charles Stuart*, to declare and prove it, before Sentence should pass against him, and that the said Sir *Phelim* should be restor'd to his Estate and Liberty; but he answer'd, That he cou'd prove no such thing: Nevertheless they gave him time to consider of it till the next Day, which was the third and last Day of his Tryal; upon which Day the said Sir *Phelim* being brought into Court, and urg'd again; he again declar'd that he never cou'd prove any such thing as a Commission from the King; and added, That there were several Outrages committed by Officers and Soldiers, his Aiders and Abettors, in the management of that War, contrary to his intention, and which now press'd his Conscience very much; and that he cou'd not in Conscience add to them the unjust calumniating the King, tho' he had been frequently solicited thereunto, by fair Promises, and great Rewards, while he was in Prison; and proceeding further in this Discourse, that immediately he was stop'd, before he had ended what he had further to say, the Sentence of Death was pronounc'd against him.

I do further declare, that I was present, and very near the said Sir *Phelim* when he was upon the Ladder, at his Execution; and that one Marshal, . . . *Peak*, and another Marshal, before the said Sir *Phelim* was cast, came riding towards the place in great haste, and call'd aloud, *Stop a little*, and having pass'd thro' the throng of the Spectators and Guards, one of them whisper'd a pretty while with the said Sir *Phelim*, and that the said Sir *Phelim* answer'd in the hearing of several hundreds of People, of whom my self was one; ' I thank ' the Lieutenant General for this intended Mercy; but ' I declare, good People, before God and his Holy ' Angels, and all you that hear me, that I never had ' any Commission from the King, for what I have done ' in levying, or Prosecuting this War, and heartily ' beg your Prayers all good Catholicks and Christians, ' that God may be Merciful unto me, and forgive me ' my Sins.' More of his Speech I cou'd not hear, which continued not long, the Guards beating off those that stood near the Place of Execution.

All that I have written as above, I declare to be true, and am ready, if thereunto required, upon my Corporal Oath, to attest the Truth of every particular of it. And in Testimony thereof do hereunto subscribe my Hand, and affix my Seal this 28th Day of *February*, 1681.

John Ker, Locus Sigilli.

This Paper was delivered by his Grace the old Duke of *Ormond*, to Mr. *Nalson*. Author of the Book intitled, ' The Impartial Collection of all the memorable ' Events from the Scotch Rebellion to the King's Mur- ' ther;' as appears pag. 528. vol. 2, of the said Book, where you have the said Paper, *verbatim*, &c.

The Lord *Macguire*, one of the Confederates of the said Sir *Phelim*, taken and brought from the Laws and Customs of his own Country, to be try'd in *England*, as well to deprive him of the Benefit of his Peerage there, with other Advantages, as in Hopes that he cou'd be sooner corrupted, and prevail'd upon here, to come to what the Juncto wou'd have him, viz. to accuse the
King

King of having given them such a Commission, and upon his so doing, he should be restor'd to his Life, Honour and Estate ; made the like generous Declaration at the Place of his Execution, choosing rather to dye in so ignominious a manner, than purchase his Life with the Guilt of so base an Act (attended with all the Temporal Advantages offered unto him by the King's Enemies) as to belie his Innocent Prince then in his Grave. Now whether these Gentlemen, thus dying, or the Cromwellian-Republicans, making such offers to them, and to such Ends, were the greater Enemies to the King, let any Man judge.

That these Gentlemen, and others their Adherents in the North of *Ireland*, after the Design of seizing the Parliamentary Lords Justices, &c, miscarry'd, had taken Arms in their own necessary Defence against the daily arbitrary Incroachments of the said Lords Justices and their lawless Proceedings, without any Commission from the King, and that thereupon many Disorders, Bloodshed and Confusions have happen'd, is what no Irish Man, Friend to Truth, and knowing any thing of the Matter ever deny'd, that I could learn ; and is but too plain from the Gentlemen's own Confession both at their Tryals and Executions : And it is no less plain that if the said Lords Justices, *Parsons* and *Burlace* had, instead of giving fresh Provocations, and administering new Causes of more grievous Complaints, without any hopes of redress, and that too, on purpose to edge the already gall'd People to what they and their Faction drove at (a general Revolt) had they, I say, apply'd timely Remedy to these Distempers, by either favourably hearing the humble Petitions of the Irish and doing 'em Justice ; or not wilfully neglecting the Means and Power to suppress the Commotion in its beginning ; the Contagion would never have spread, nor the Fire broke out in the degree it did. And to shew how averse the generality, even of *O'Neil's* own People, were to join with him in it, notwithstanding all their insufferable Usage from the then Government, and the further Dangers they and the whole Kingdom were more than threaten'd with from *England* ; needs no other Proof than

than the above-mentioned Stratagem concerning the Commission, which O Neil found himself under a necessity to make use of, to cheat them into a Belief that he had the King's Authority for what he did.

Add, that even all this was subsequent to the *Scotch* Rebels invading *England*, with arm'd Force, in the Year 1640, at the invitation and encouragement of their yet undeclared English Friends, exacting for their Contribution of the Counties of *Durham* and *Northumberland*, 350 l. Sterling per diem, and proclaiming at the Head of their Army, That they would never lay down, till the Presbyterian, *by the Name of Reformed Religion*, was established in both Kingdoms; till Delinquents, such as the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Laud*, and the rest of the Prelates, the Earl of *Strafford*, and others the greatest Men and of the best Subjects in the Kingdom, at that time, were sacrificed to their Fury. Whereupon Sir *Francis Windebanck* Secretary of State, foreseeing the unavoidable consequence of so dreadful a Storm, fled into *France*; and the 3d of *November* this Year, the famous Rebel *Prim* carried up the 'Impeachment of high complicated-Treason from the Commons, against the said Earl, to the Lords House. Whereupon that Noble Lord unhappily lost his Head, to the great regret of all Men of honourable and loyal Principles. I need not repeat the many bloody Tragedies which every Body knows have followed, and *by whose Means and for what Cause*. Next, all Offices of State and Trust must be filled with Persons named by, and of the Mold of this Faction, even to the removing his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales's* Governot, and giving him one of their choosing: Then comes the Power of the Militia out of the King's Hands, the perpetuity of the Parliament, the King's disclaiming the Right of pressing Soldiers for his Service within the Kingdom, tho' all be so many undoubted Prerogatives of his Crown: Then High Treason against the Queen for loving the King her Husband and Father of her numerous Royal Issue too well, not to act all she could in his Favour. How many fruitless Conferences and Treaties set on Foot 'twixt the King and the Rebels, with a
sincere

sincere Design on his Majesty's part to come to as amicable an Accommodation as Prudence and Honour would admit ; tho' but to amuse the People, and lay all blame of Miscarriages on the King, as well as gain time for the more effectual execution of their execrable Designs. were the Motives of the Faction ?

After all I have here said, with as much Truth as it is Matter of Fact ; after the above-mentioned Invasion of the *Scotch* Rebels, their exacting such exorbitant Contributions from his Majesty's English Subjects ; their Imposing on, and giving Laws to their Lawful Sovereign in so unheard of a manner, and all that in Concert with, and by the underhand-Incouragement of their Presbyterian Friends in England ; and all the Pressures they thereby jointly reduced the King to, and the farther wicked Design they had to cut off all honest Men well affected to his Interest ; shall it be reckoned a greater Crime in the poor Irish, whose Persons, Rights and Properties were invaded, and were to expect no Mercy from the known Principles and Practices of such Enemies, to take Arms in order to repel such Injuries, and withstand the Invasion, tho' without a Commission from the King ; than in these who forced 'em to it, and who intentionally acted in all the Degrees of Treason, rebellious Subjects could be guilty of against their God, their King and their Country ? Add, That when the King offered to go in Person into *Ireland*, after his return out of *Scotland* in the Year 1642. the Faction, conscious that, by his Royal Presence, he would immediately heal all Divisions there, and perhaps form such a Body of Men as would overthrow all their black Designs, upon several specious Pretences, would not suffer him to go, but rather let the Flame increase.

These are Truths which no unbiass'd Man, knowing any thing of what pass'd in those Days, can deny ; and yet, I am afraid, are of no Force in *England* to alleviate, much less to excuse the Irish Insurrection : So Unchristian and Ungenerous is our Prejudice to that unfortunate Nation.

But be the People's thoughts of this Insurrection what they will : I say, it was never attended, either
with

with that Insolence in it's beginning, or those marks of eternal Infamy in it's Progress, and Consequences, which we have seen some Rebellions and Conspiracies near home, and in our Days, fully'd and loaded with ; yet shall I say it ? the Irish are worse used, traduced, and belied in Libels, &c. by their avow'd Enemies, and the too much credulity of others ; they who had hardly been in Arms 22 Months, and had all the Advantage then on their side, when they agreed to a truce or suspension of Arms ; and, who no sooner understood it to be the King's Pleasure, signify'd to them by my Lord of *Ormond*, than they laid 'em quite down, and who but knows, that were it not for the deference they then paid to his Majesty's Orders, the posture of their Affairs was such, that the Protestant Party wou'd have been intirely destroy'd ?

This Truce was continued from time to time, till the General Peace, which was sign'd at *Kilkenny*, in the Year 1648. by the Duke of *Ormond*, Plenipotentiary from his Majesty, on the one Part ; And the general Assembly of the Confederate-Irish Catholicks, on the other.

This Peace was no sooner concluded and published, than all Forts, Citadels and Magazines, were deliver'd up to the Lord Lieutenant ; and all the Nobility, Gentry, Magistrates and others of the Kingdom, submitted to, and followed his Orders : and tho' since that time, Fortune favour'd the Progress of the *English* Rebels ; the Irish steadily rejected all the advantageous Offers made unto 'em by the Usurper, choosing rather to under-go all sorts of Hardships and Dangers, and lay down their very Lives, with an unshaken firmness, than forsake their Loyalty, or fail in the Duty they ow'd to their Prince ; and tho' the Rebels became Masters of almost all the Garisons ; yet the Irish cou'd never be brought to lay down, till they had received his Majesty's Orders to submit to the Times, and get for themselves the best Terms they cou'd, when it was too late.

It is to be observ'd that when the said Peace was made, the Affairs of the Irish had a most favourable Aspect : They had a good Army on Foot, most of the Towns and Cities, with two thirds of the Kingdom were in
their

their Hands : The Parliament of *England* endeavour'd to settle a fair Understanding with them, and the Neighbouring Princes solicited their Alliance. Yet still they preferr'd upholding the King's Interest (abandon'd by almost all others, and attended with many inconveniences) to the embracing of all these Advantages ; which honourable Choice, drew upon them, all the Power of *England* and *Scotland*, and expos'd them and their Posterity, to utter Ruin, if not an intire extirpation.

I am not unsensible how the Enemies of that Nation omitted nothing, the most inveterate Malice was capable of, to persuade every Body that his Majesty is not obliged to perform the Articles of Peace, made with the King his Father, and which he himself has confirm'd.

The Irish Confederates, say they, extorted those Articles from the King, and therefore they ought not to have any Benefit from 'em ; besides that, they banish'd the Duke of *Ormond*, the King's Lieutenant-General out of the Kingdom.

They may well say, that the Treaty which the King made in *Scotland*, when surrounded with a Presbyterian Army, was indeed forced from him, and yet it was never call'd in question. But how they'll make it appear, that the Confederates of *Ireland* cou'd extort any thing from his present Majesty, who was then in *France*, is to me a Riddle.

Wou'd it not be a most ridiculous thing to imagine that the Marquis of *Antrim*, and the Lord Vis. *Muskery*, Deputies from the Confederate-Catholicks (humbly demanding but the Ratification of Articles, which imported no more than an Oblivion of what had pass'd, and the Inhabitants free Enjoyment of their own for the time to come) shou'd go so well guarded, from *Ireland* to *Paris*, and with sufficient Force, so as to oblige the King, who then lodged at the Palace Royal, and was Cousin-German to his most Christian Majesty, to grant them what they pleas'd ?

The next Charge is, that they shou'd drive out the D. of *Ormond*, a Calumny no less malicious and groundless ; for that Noble Lord, having lost the Provinces of *Leinster* and *Munster*, by the Cromwelian Rebels, thought

thought fit to retire into that of *Conaught*, and thence with consent, embark'd for *France*, in order to give the Queen an Account of the miserable condition Ireland was in, and to implore foreign Assistance, which cou'd it have been got in time, wou'd have put a stop to the current of the Usurper's Progress, and hinder that Tyrant's passing his victorious Troops out of Ireland into England, to fight and defeat the King at Worcester, as he did.

The Duke at parting, committed the chief Command and Government, till he should return, to the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, a Person as highly distinguished for his Zeal and Loyalty, as for his Noble Descent; and whose Orders were most punctually and faithfully obeyed in all Things. All which shews that the Duke was not driven or forced away, other than what the urgent necessity of Affairs required, to other Ends, and for other Reasons, than are maliciously suggested; and since at his parting he left a Governor, who by the Authority the Duke delegated to him, commanded all things in his Absence, and whose Orders were never disputed.

Nor can the whole Nation be accused with any Colour of Justice of what some Prelates (met at James-Town) had done, whose indiscreet Zeal was soon after disapproved and condemned by a General Assembly of the Clergy, Nobility and Commons of the Kingdom conven'd at *Loughbreagh*, who at the same time generously refus'd the advantageous Conditions offered to 'em by the Deputies of Cromwell; for the whole Nation unanimously resolved rather to lose their All in a stedfast Perseverance of Fidelity to their King, than change side on any Account whatsoever. But why do I give my self so much Trouble to prove Facts which are in themselves undeniable, or to shew that the Irish have not in the least violated any one Article of the said Peace? (That they have honourably discharged their Duty, upheld the Crown's Interest to the last Extremity, and that if they be Persecuted, even at this time, it's but for doing what the Laws of God, and the Duty of their Allegiance require of 'em, in following every where the Fate of the Lord's Anointed, their King and Master?)

Since

Since I have in my Hands the glorious Testimony of two great Kings; of our own, in the Preamble of his Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland in these Words.

‘ And therefore, *says he*, we could not but hold our selves oblig’d to perform what we owe by that Peace, to those, who had honestly and faithfully perform’d what they had promised to do, tho’ *we* and *they* were miserably disappointed of the Effects of those Promises.’ And in his Instructions to the Commissioners for executing the said Act, as followeth.

‘ And whereas some Ambiguity or Doubt may arise under what Qualifications such Persons may be comprehended, who submitted unto our Articles of Peace, and inviolably observed the same, yet neither attended us in Foreign Parts, nor sued out Decrees for Lands in *Conaught* or County of *Clare* : Yet you are, in order to their Settlement, to proceed in the same way and method, as by our Declaration is held forth, for those that submitted to our Articles, and inviolably observed the same, and attended us in Foreign Parts.’

By which you may observe, that of those who submitted to the Peace some staid at home, and others followed his Majesty abroad, and both inviolably observing what they had engaged themselves to, by the Peace; his Majesty intended and ordered a Provision for ’em accordingly : Which they are still to wait for. The other Testimony is that of his *Most Christian Majesty*, in the Letter he writ to our King in Behalf of the Irish Catholicks on this Subject, soon after the Restoration; which I here present you with, as being very well worth your perusal.

His Most Christian Majesty's Letter to the King of Great Britain, in Favour of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland.

MOST High, Most Excellent, and Most Potent Prince, Our Dear and Well-beloved Brother and Cousin. At the same time that we have been told of your Majesty's great Goodness towards your Subjects, and the President you have given of an extraordinary Clemency, in granting them your general Amnesty
(some

(some few only excepted of those, whom the Blood of their King, and that of his People, cry loud to Heaven for Revenge against) we could not but let your Majesty know, that we were extreamly surprized to hear that the Catholicks of *Ireland* were excluded from that Act of Oblivion, and by that means put into the number of the most Criminal. This News has so much the more excited our Compassion towards them, that we have been informed, That in all the Changes which have hitherto happened in your Dominions, and in the almost general defection of your Subjects, none stood more constant to their lawful Sovereign, even in the greatest straits, than the Catholicks; so that, if they are now branded for their Religion, it may be said for their Honour, that, in Times Past, none could be found readier or more chearfully dispos'd than they, to serve and assist their Prince, and that, with so much Ardour, that their Zeal then for the Royal Family was reckoned a certain Mark of their true Religion. It's for that Reason that we now become their Intercessors to You; for otherwise, had they fail'd in the Fidelity they owe you, instead of interceeding for them, we would join with You in using them with all imaginable Rigour; and it would never come into our Thoughts to concern our Selves, as we do, for the Catholicks of *Ireland*, tho' we are obliged to it, by the last Treaty of Peace made, with the Marquis of *Ormond*, and which was granted to them by our Mediation. And as we are well assured, that since the conclusion of that Peace, they have done nothing which can be call'd a failure of their Duty to you, we find our Selves under so much the greater Obligation to Conjure you to make good that Treaty to them, in that they religiously observed it on their side in all it's Parts; and to beseech you not to suffer that either the Hatred, which an immoderate Zeal swells some begotted Sectarists with, nor the unlucky Spoils of these poor People, render Criminal or miserable the most faithful of your Subjects, to whom their lawful King, as You are, is not the less dear, nor less respected, because of a different Belief from theirs. We propose nothing to our selves in this, nor ask any thing but what we daily practice (as
you

you may know) towards those of our Subjects who are of the *Pretended Reformed Religion*. And as we have commanded the *Sieur Marquis de Roussigny* to explain our Sentiments on this Subject more amply to you, be pleas'd to give him a favourable Audience; and above all Things be perswaded that in this Affair we have no less your own true Interest in view, than what natural Reason and Equity requires, and that our sincere Friendship for you, is the principal Motive of this Request. Dated at *Paris*, the 7th of *September*, 1660.

Will it be objected after such Royal Proofs (and that of the two Monarchs in the Universe who had most reason to know the Truth in this Case, and where above disguising their Thoughts on't) that this Peace was extorted from his Majesty, or that the Irish have any ways infringed it? Or will it not be ingeniously confessed rather (as it ought) that it was made with full and mutual free Consent of both sides, as well for other general Advantages to King and People, as to endeavour to prevent the Murther of *K. Charles I.* by Rescuing him out of the English Rebels Hands, who had him then in Relstraint, and were not asham'd to lead him afterwards to the Block, where, before his own Palace-Gate, they cut off his Head? To verify which, take but the King's own Words in his said Declaration for the Settlement of *Ireland*, as followeth. ' We could not forget the Peace that our Self made with our said Subjects, in the time when they who wickedly Usurped the Authority in this Kingdom, had Erected that odious Court for the taking away the Life of Our Dear Father; and then no Body can wonder that we were desirous, tho' upon difficult Conditions, to get such an united Power of our own Subjects, as might have been able, with God's Blessing, to have prevented that infamous and horrible Parricide.'

And because a Peace, so well and honourably design'd, and made by the generous good Offices and Mediation of his most Christian Majesty, who even became it's Guarantee, did not answer the End; and that it is well known thro' whose Fault it must be reputed forced from

his Majesty, where it favours the Irish against the Interest of those who largely contributed and help'd to bring his Royal Father to that tragical End, and himself to all the Straits that can be called *Hard* in this Case : Whilst a stedfast adherence to their King and Religion brought that long train of Misfortunes and Troubles upon the Irish Nation, by undergoing for so many Years past all that the Violence of Rebels Arms, and the Rigour of Proscription, could think most Tyrannical : And yet all That is less sensible to them, than to be forsaken by those whom they suffered all this for.

The Irish, at last overpower'd, could not be brought to change Party, tho' forced to quit their Country : Many young Noblemen of undaunted Spirits and heroick Resolutions, followed the then low Fortune of their Sovereign, flocking from all Parts into the Service of such Princes as they saw most cordially espoused the Justice of his Cause. While *France* protected him, they quitted the *Spanish* Service, and entered into that of his most Christian Majesty : If his Majesty thought fit to remove his Court to *Flanders*, they immediately followed him, in order to strengthen the side he was on.

Thus coming from several different and remote Places, they formed that Body of Troops which made the King the more respected among those Princes of his Allies, he resided in the Dominions of, and fear'd by his Enemies. This is a Truth so well known at Home and Abroad, that I believe none will have the Face to deny it ; especially when his Majesty himself is pleased to own and declare it, in this manner, *viz.*

‘ And in the last Place we *did* and *must* always remember the great Affection a considerable part of that Nation expressed to us, during the time of our being beyond the Seas, when with all Cheerfulness and Obedience they received and submitted to our Orders, and betook themselves to that Service, which we directed as most convenient and behoofful at that time to us, tho' attended with Inconvenience enough to themselves ; which Demeanour of theirs, cannot but be thought very worthy of our Protection, Justice and Favour.’

Now

Now let us examine a little with what Protection, Justice, and Favour, a Loyalty so pure, and thus own'd to the whole World in open Parliament, by the Sacred Mouth of the very King himself, who had the proof on't, has been rewarded.

At that time the Question was, whether the Presbyterians, and other Cromwellican-Fanaticks, who, for a long time, had been machinating the Subversion of the Monarchy ; and who, to compass a Design so suitable to their known Principles and most darling Inclinations, held it meritorious to take Arms against, to Dethrone, and brew their Sacrilegious Hands in the innocent Blood of God's Anointed, their lawful Sovereign K. *Charles I.* to know, I say, whether these Parricides should be suffered to continue in the possession of the Estates which were given to them for their signal Services against the Crown, the Life and Sacred Person of the King ; or should be obliged to restore them to the ancient Proprietors, whose sole forfeiting Crime was their Fidelity to God, and steadfastness to the Interest of that very Prince, and his Royal Issue ; a Crime in the Eyes of all Cromwellicans not only unpardonable, but deserving the utmost Punishment.

The Irish, besides their ancient legal Titles to the said Estates, confirmed by an undisturbed, peaceable Possession for many Generations, had in their favour the publick Faith of the solemn Peace abovementioned ; the King's reiterated Promise, and his most Christian Majesty's gracious Assurance to see the said Peace performed to them ; setting aside all Consideration of Equity and Justice ; of the Blood they spilt, or the Wounds they received in his Majesty's Service, which all plead for them

It's true, that at first the King was resolved to do them Right ; but the artificial Malice of the Chief Minister, and of some other great Men at Court, prevailed upon him by degrees to change his Resolution, and brought him (by taking quite contrary Measures) to abandon to their Enemies those, who never forsook him in his greatest Misfortunes. O Heaven ! what Favour ! what Justice ! and what Protection ! what ! that a generous

Christian Prince shall not be contented to pardon the sworn Enemies of his Crown, the bloody Murderers of the King his Father, the cruel Persecutors of all the Blood Royal, and from whose enraged Fury he himself had but a narrow Escape, even by a sort of a Miracle; but must gratify and enrich them over and above all that, with the Inheritance, Honours and Dignities of his truest Friends, who, with the loss of their Lives and Fortunes, faithfully served him to the last, against those new Favourites; is a Proceeding that no History, Sacred or Prophane, ever did or perhaps will shew the like. Yet, 'tis all the Protection, Favour, and Justice, the zeal and loyal Behaviour of the Irish has been requited with, by the famous Act of Settlement of Ireland.

It will be answered, no doubt, that the King, in Policy, and under some necessity to content a Faction already ill affected to his Government, and withal under a Promise to pay the vast Sums the Army of that Faction, in Ireland, pretended were due to it, was forced, contrary to his Inclination, to take those sad Measures.

But, good God! what Excuse! shall Policy, the most noble and most excellent of all moral Virtues, be thus abused, and made a Cloak of, to hide the wicked Designs of corrupt Ministers, or palliate the false Steps of their mislead Masters? Policy! that Virtue (always grounded on, and guided by the Rules of Justice) so much, heretofore, esteemed among the very Heathens, that the Prince of the Latin Poets thought he could do his Country no greater Honour, than to attribute that incomparable Perfection, as a distinguishing Character, to the Romans, when he says in his 6th Book of *Æneids*,

*Tu, Regere imperio, Populos, Romane, memento,
(Hæ tibi erunt artes) pacisque imponere morem;
Parcere Subjectis, & debellare superbos.*

This Virtue, I say, shall be no more among Christians; than a Vail to cover the Malice of their Hearts, the Corruption of their Mind, and in short, than an Artifice us'd, without regard to Honour or Conscience, to deceive all those whose Sincerity will not allow them to suspect, or

go so far as to unravel all the Craft or hidden recesses of it? But suppose the King had promised to pay the Cromwellian Army for having fought against him, ought he therefore to wrong those who fought for him against that Army? Or could not that Army be paid by raising publick Taxes or Subsidies in Ireland, as was done in the two other Kingdoms of his Majesty's Dominions, without stripping so many thousand honest Gentlemen of their All, who are only unfortunate for having stuck to him with as much Duty and Affection, as the others did to his Enemies; and who for all Reward, desired but the Restitution of their own at last?

What Policy, I pray, less becoming the Honour and Justice of a great Prince than to suffer that those of his Subjects, he is most assured of the Fidelity of, should be used so cruelly, or should lye under so much Hardship? Or less agreeable to any Maxim of Christianity, or the well-being of a State, than, where we have no Right to dispose lawfully, of what belongs to another, to our own use (regard had to natural Equity, common Justice, and publick Faith) to take upon us, at the same time, to give it, to the Prejudice of the Right Owner, as a recompence to the most horrid Rebellion that ever Subjects, causelessly carried on against their King? nor more dangerous to a Crown, to the Security of the Sovereign's Person and that of his Successors, or more repugnant to common Sense; than to aggrandize the Power of those, who watch but an opportunity to turn it all against their Benefactor, and erect their Darling Commonwealth on the Ruins of his Monarchy; whilst his surest Friends are rendered incapable to assist him in time of need, by depriving them of the means to do it, and putting them into the Hands of his avowed Enemies? Whereas had the true Rule of Justices *Redde unicuique, quod suum est*; and the truly Politick as well as Christian Maxim of the great *Richelieu*, to Reward and Punish well, had been followed, it would have been found that nothing could have more powerfully animated the Good, to perform all that Honour could require; nor more efficaciously excite the Bad, even with Emulation, to return to their Duty; by the just assurance That would give to the One,

and to the Other, that their Actions would not fail of meeting with a Reward suitable to their *Merit* or *Demerit*.

But let us be *ingenious* and truly confess, that good Policy had no hand in all this ; and that it is the first Minister and his Adherents (who had meditated the undoing of a Nation all Catholick, and never tainted with any Republican Principles, and had given such a powerful Diversion in his Majesty's Favour, to the Parliamentarian-English-Forces imploy'd against him, as was like, to their no small Fear, to have turned the Scales for the King) that were the sole Source of it : And that these were the true Reasons why those Machiavils had resolved the total extinction of that Nation, which they looked upon as a main Obstacle in their way, whenever they should attempt any thing against the Monarchy, and a hindrance to their attaining their wicked Ends on any future Rebellion.

You'll say, therefore, the King had no share in all these Injustices, since in all that passed he did but follow the Advice of his Ministers and Council. If it be true, that in the Reign of Kings, Justice ought to flourish, and that their Authority should be the Sanctuary of publick Faith : And if it be also true that *Adam*, throwing the fault of his Disobedience on the Wife, God himself had given him, and who consequently was not of his own choosing, alledging that it was she that persuaded him to Eat of the forbidden Fruit, did rather aggravate than lessen his Crime ; so, a wise Prince, full of Experience, and free to choose his own Ministers and Counsellors, and oblig'd in Justice to himself, to the Good of his Kingdoms, and Welfare of his People, to choose them such as he may securely follow the Counsels of : And that whoever, under these Circumstances, does it not, is so far from being excusable for his deference to evil Counsels, that he is accountable before God, both for the Mischiefs which ensue, and for the ill Choice which he made ; since by choosing such Persons he exposed himself to be mislead, and others to suffer thereby : Which Reflection, occasioned that saying of a great King of Spain, *Philip II.* on his Death-bed, *That he dreaded*

dreaded more the Sins of the King, than those of Philip. Nor indeed do I perceive any great difference betwixt one's running headlong into Danger of his own sole Accord, and tamely suffering himself to be lead into it by others; if at long run he hath the Misfortune to fall into it. Therefore a Prince, who seriously thinks of his own Business, and has a true sense of the fear of God, must never repose himself so intirely, in the weighty Affairs of his Government, on the Ability of his Ministers. be their Capacity and Experience never so consummated; because they being still but Men, they may be subject to Error, Passion, and their own private Interest; but weigh all their Councils himself, and thoroughly examine every Opinion, without suffering his Judgment to be overborn by the Importunities of some, or the specious Arguments of others, especially in Matters of the highest Moment; for Reason being a Ray of the Divinity, should never be deceived thro' any false Colours, but like the Needle of the Compass should always seek out, and tend to Truth as its Meridian Pole, and make such necessary Attentions as to discern true Reasoning from the false, and take the surest and justest Course in all his Decisions: But, if instead of impartially hearing both Parties one alone is admitted, and that the Merits of the Cause be left to the arbitrary Determination of those who are themselves both Judges and Party; I appeal to your Lordship what may be hoped for, from thence.

King Charles I. reflecting in his *Eicon Basilicon*, on some Miscarriages of the like nature, into which he had been unhappily lead, most judiciously observes the fatal Consequences of them; and tho' it be certain that God's Mercies are infinite, *and it is well for us all they are so*; and that in favour of an humble and sincere Repentance his omnipotent Goodness is willing to pardon hidden and personal Offences: It is no less certain that he never forgives publick Injustices, without ample reparation of the Injury done; nor does he always reserve it's Punishment to the next World, since Histories and daily Examples teach us that even in this World terrible Judgments fall not only on the Authors of such In-

juries, but sometimes reach even their Posterity to the Third and Fourth Generation. So that the best Policy is, ' Never to do that to another, which we would not ' have the other do unto us ; and to do Justice, happen ' what will.

Don't you find, my Lord, after what we have said, that the Irish Nation is very much to be pitty'd ? A Nation that sacrificed itself to serve the King, attended him in his Banishment, stood alone unanimously faithful to him, when the generality of his other Subjects either abandon'd or deserted him ; and is in a far worse Condition now, than while they were under the Tyranny of the Usurper ; for if then the Cromwelians took their Estates from them by force, as they did the Three Kingdoms from the King, necessity required they should submit to lawless Powers, and to the Iniquity of the times : But now they are, as one may say, doubly stript, by two Acts of Parliament, look'd upon as flowing from the Fountain-head of Justice it self, *The Acts of Settlement and Explanation*.

The unfortunate Irish comforted themselves under their first Calamity from the hopes they had, that soon or late the Goodness of God would restore his Majesty to the full and peaceable Possession of his Kingdoms ; and that then nothing could hinder them from enjoying their own, and returning to their native Country whence they were driven, for what would deserve eternal Praise and Honour in other Nations,

But now seeing his Majesty happily seated on the Throne of his Ancestors, they can't but be amaz'd to find how, all of a sudden, they are left hopeless, and by what stratagem their mortal Enemies, who are no less so to the King, should, by a final Sentence, from whence there lies no appeal, appropriate to themselves and their Posterity for ever, their Estates. But what surpasses all we have hitherto said, is, that they are condemn'd by the very *Messias*, from whom they expected relief ; whom they despis'd life, neglected fortune, lost their Country, and left all that was dear and near to them in this World for the sake of ; and all this through the Intrigues, Corruption and Avarice of the Prime Minister,

ter; and others of his Kidney. His Majesty had fresh in Memory the great Services this Nation had done him, when speaking in the House of Lords the 27th Day of July 1660, concerning his General Pardon, he declared his Mind after this Manner, ‘ I add nothing to you concerning the Irish, I intend and will have them enjoy the Benefit of my Pardon; they have been very faithful and affectionate to me in my Banishment; and you are to have a regard to my Honour and Reputation and to concur with me in fulfilling what I have promised.’

To say nothing of Honour, Reputation or Gratitude, which many of our Politicians soon overlook, how shall we justify the Infamy of so many Injustices? How shall we answer it to Heaven? Or what excuse will our Posterity be able to make for us? Nay, let us suppose that the solemn Peace concluded with his Majesty ought not to have been kept, and that not one Irish Man had done him any manner of service during his Exile; is it therefore that 7000 Innocent Persons, who never acted any thing whereby they might incur either his present, or his late Majesty’s displeasure, shall be condemned unheard? Nay let us go further, and grant that not one Innocent Person could be found in all the Kingdom of Ireland, that they had all been obstinate Rebels from the very beginning of the War, and that not one of them deserved the least Favour (if his Majesty’s Conscience will allow him to hear such a thing) will the first Minister and his Accomplices have the Face to conclude from thence, that so many Thousand Widows and Orphans, are not Objects moving enough to deserve all the Clemency and Compassion his Majesty’s Goodness can shew them?

It is a certain Truth amongst Christians, that Kings are the Lord’s Anointed, and his Vicegerents on Earth; therefore as they hold their Power from the immediate Hand of God, to whom alone they are accountable for their Actions and Conduct; so they ought, as near as they can, immitate him in the Exercise of it: And, as of all the Attributes of the Divine Majesty, his Mercy seems to participate most of the Excellency of his nature, *Misericordia super omnia opera ejus.* So Kings ought

to set it as a pattern for them to follow above all the rest; for it is by the practice of this Princely Virtue, that good and just Kings are distinguish'd from Tyrants; and that they appear in the Eyes of their Subjects, as we may say, like so many Rays of the Divine Essence.

I don't believe that the Crown of England, was ever worn by a more courteous, more affable, and more merciful Prince than King *Charles II.* I am confident there is not that Prince now living, that has given more signal Instances of his generous Temper and Clemency than he. What punishment then doth not the Malice of such Ministers deserve, who stifled in its Birth, the intended Effect of so much Goodness, and of a Prince well dispos'd to shew it to those of his Innocent Subjects, who no less deserved the Marks on't, than their Neighbours?

These Self interested Ministers have discover'd and condemn'd themselves by sharing in the Spoils confiscated by their own Act of Settlement, and have betray'd their pretended Zeal for the Propagation of the Protestant Religion, since that was but a Pretext to cover their more prevalent Motive, *Temporal interest.*

It will, I fancy, be a Paradox to Posterity, that the Irish, after having often taken Arms, should again be restored by the Favour of Kings, originally *English*; and must now be exterminated for ever by a Prince, lineally descended from *Fergasius*, one of the Princes of the Blood-Royal of their own Country; and by a Prince too under much greater Obligation to them, than any that ever sway'd the Sceptre of the English Monarchy; and yet in this very Prince's Reign, notwithstanding all his high Endowments, and his innate Royal Intention to do justice, we see so many Thousand innocent Victims sacrificed unheard, by the Artifice of others: While a general Act of Indemnity is granted to all Criminals, even some of the Murderers of his Royal Father not excepted. These are Matters of Fact, that, in our Days, cannot be deny'd: But will hardly gain Credit in future Ages; since no History, before our Time, can shew any thing like it: and that I believe from the beginning of the Creation to the World's End, no Christian Country govern'd by any that profess Christianity, will be able to produce such another Example. The

The cruelest and most bloody Tyrants that ever liv'd, those Monsters of Nature, who were cut out for the Ruin and Destruction of Mankind, never us'd their old Friends so ill, as to throw them quite out of all, to place their newly-reconciled Enemies in their room.

Now will any Man believe, who has not seen it with his Eyes, that in the Reign of so good and gracious a Prince, who at the same time that he protects the Nobility and Gentry of England in their Splendor and Greatness, the People in their Rights and Liberties, the Weak from the Oppression of the Strong, and all from the furious Insults of the Mobb, and commands an impartial Administration of Justice to be made throughout so vast and flourishing a Kingdom, without distinction of Persons : His Ministers turn all upside-down in Ireland, plunder the Gentry, condemn the Guiltless, stop the Mouths and smother the Complaints of Orphans and Widows who Cry to Heaven for Relief, and make them perish with Cold and Hunger : While they ratifie the unjustifiable Extortions of Usurpers, violate Publick Faith, suppress Virtue, countenance Vice, make Loyalty pass for Treason, and give large Rewards to the most notorious Rebels and Traytors that ever betray'd and murder'd their King,

And has not this very Minister been often heard to say, with a disdainful, passionate Air, *The Irish deserve to be ruin'd, and quite rooted*; and at the same Time swear bitterly, after this usual Manner, *That he would utterly destroy them; and that to abolish their very Names, he would so far pursue their Ruin, as not to spare their Breast-sucking Children.* Good God ! what a Declaration of Malice and Hatred ? And how unbecoming one pretending to believe in Christ, and bearing the Character of a Chancellor ? Surely he must either be unacquainted with, or very little regard, that Commandment of God, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self*, Does he imagine that Divine Providence, which preserves the *Lillies and Flowers of the Fields, with all their Beauties* : and blasts and destroys them when it pleases, and gives an Angel-Guardian to every individual Person, as a special Mark of Grace and Favour ; has committed the sole Care of a whole Na-
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tion to one insignificant Man, who might, at his Arbitrary Will and Pleasure, undo the Work of his Omnipotent Hand. and the price of his precious Blood shed on the Tree of the Cross ? Of a Man, I say, who can hardly escape his own Downfall. and Disgrace ; and who, if I mistake not, will never be able to weather the storm which draws towards him, and is already close at his Heels.

This proud *Hamon*, in Confederacy with the rest, who no less thirsted after Wealth and vast Estates for themselves and their Children, made no scruple, in order to gratifie their insatiable Appetites, and in contempt of all that was Sacred and Just, to strike at a total Extermination of all that should bear the Name of an *Irishman*, and was at the Eve of executing his wicked Purpose and fulfilling his unchristian Oath, when the just Hand of Heaven thought fit to mortify his Soul, by lowering his mighty Power, and *Measuring unto him as he would have Measured unto Others*.

To save hi life, was he not forced to quit his fine house and numerous family ? To bid a long Adieu to his Native Country ? To run away in his old Age, and in the depth of Winter, exposed to all the Rigour and Dangers of the Season, both by Sea and Land, to beg that Sanctuary in Foreign Parts, and among those of a Religion, he intended the Destruction of at Home, his own Country spew'd him out from, and judg'd him unworthy of ? *How just art thou, O God ! and how righteous are thy Decrees.*

- - - - *Nec Lex est Justior ulla,*

Quam necis artificem, arte perire sua.

What ! All that shew of Greatness eclips'd ? The Author of so many Injustices banish'd ? The Soul of the Cabalists remov'd ? And still the poor Irish lye under the weight of their Afflictions ? Yes, but breathing in just hopes that the Fall of their greatest Enemy may serve as a first step to rise them out of their deplorable Condition ; and that his Majesty thereby coming to take into a more serious and nearer Consideration, the hitherto, unheard-of Cruelties which have been, and still are exercised against that Nation. by depriving them of all the Benefit the Laws of Nations, publick Faith ;

Faith, common Justice, and even the Laws of the Land, duly executed, allow them: He may be touch'd with the Moans, Tears and Complaints of the poor numberless Widows and Orphans therein concern'd, and induced to Repeal two Acts so injurious not only to God and Man, and so inconsistent with all the Rules of common Sense and Reason: But are in their very Nature so; to all good Policy and the Welfare of Government; for the true and solid way of preserving the Interest of the English Crown in Ireland, is to set up the Irish against the over-growing Power of the English and Scotch Presbyterians, and on such a Footing too, as may over-balance that Party.

The Roman Catholicks of Ireland, and the Episcopal Protestant Party there agreed so well, and lived so peaceable in the Reign of King *James I.* and for 17 Years of that of King *Charles I.* that they seem'd all of a Mind in every thing relating to Government; and when the Presbyterian and other Fanaticks began to set the Kingdoms together by the Ears, the Catholicks and the Episcopal Protestants, as well in Ireland as in England, join'd their Forces in Favour of the King against that rising many-headed Monster.

The Great Earl of *Strafford*, as zealous a Protestant as he was, and whom the furious Rage of that Faction pointed at, and beheaded (notwithstanding all the Intreaties and earnest Solicitations of his Majesty in his behalf) for no other real cause, but being true Loyalist and sound Politician like of this Opinion; thought the best way to curb and keep the English and Scotch Republicans within the Bounds of their Duty, was to raise an Army of Catholicks in Ireland, as he actually did; and if the King, instead of consenting to disband that Army, had kept it on Foot, the Presbyterians had never carry'd on their main Design, to the height they did, and ever will, while such Methods are pursued.

After this great Man, the then Earl, now D. of *Ormond*, also a strict Protestant and a great Statesman, observing the above-mentioned Invasion of *England* by the Scotch Rebels, their Strength and Designs, saw no surer way to render effectual Service to the King his Master in such a Conjunction, then to join with the Catholick Nobility

Nobility and Gentry of *Ireland*, against the Presbyterian Lords Justices, *Burlace* and *Parsons*, who then Govern'd in that Kingdom, and against the Factious Spirits of their then Insulting Crew all over the three Kingdoms ; upon which he resolv'd to secure the Persons of the said Justices, and seize the Castle of *Dublin*, and the Arsenal for his Majesty's use : Which was to have been done on the 23d of *October*, 1641. (so long after the begun'd Broils in *England* and *Scotland*, and Provocations given to the Irish) And would have been executed but for the inconsiderate rashness of some Gentlemen of the North, who thought to be before-hand with my L. of Ormond in the doing of it themselves; and discovering their design therein to one *Owen O Conelly*, who discovered it to the said Justices, for which he had 500 l. ready Money, and 200 l. *per Annum* Reward, by the Parliament of England ; the matter miscarry'd, and gave Birth to the Insurrection of 1641. For the Presbyterians gaping for an occasion to break out into what they had been hatching for some Years before, now pull'd off their Mask, and openly manifested what they had been brewing under-hand, and gave but some indirect indications of till then, and forced the Loyalists, who sought nothing but Peace and Tranquility, to fly to Arms in Defence of what was no less dear to them than their Religion, their Lives, and their Estates, and that at a time, that, far from having any Redress to their humbly complain'd of Grievances, all the Art possible was used to load and perplex them with new ones ; and that the same Danger no less threatened his Majesty's Sacred Person, beset on all sides, with the Armies and Partizans of this Faction in *England*.

This is so undeniably true, that time and the too tragical Effects which follow'd, are more than sufficient to prove what Source and radical Cause that Insurrection sprung from, *who* were its Contrivers, *what* were their true Motives, and to what *blessed* end of Reformation.

And will any one have the Assurance to say after all this, That the Irish, who were necessitated to arm in their own Defence, are more guilty, and deserve the King's Pardon less, than those who forced them to that necessity contrary to their Interest and Inclination, and who without Cause or Constraint had themselves levy'd and entertain'd great Armies against the King and his

adherents

Adherents, under colour of serving him and asserting his Right, whilst he had no Enemy to contest with, or to invade his Right ; but they, who, after having several times fought and defeated him, with those very Armies, *had brought him* the 8th of *February*, 1646. out of the Hands of the Scotch, then at *Newcastle*, and of perfect Understanding with them, for the Sum of 200,000 l. Sterling ; had kept him Prisoner at *Holmby Castle*, the Isle of *Wight*, &c. using him with all the Indignity and Inhumanity possible, as if he were the worst and last of Men ; even to the denying his Chaplains, and other Servants, any access to him, least it should be a Comfort to him in his Misfortunes and Confinement ; brought him at last to the Scaffold, and cut off his Head. Now let me know by what Law in England or Ireland, can the Irish Roman Catholicks be condemn'd, and shall be so just at the same time, as to acquit *These* ? Yes, *It is thought convenient*, is the Rule ; and the Chancellor has found it out.

These Parliamentary Lords-Justices were no sooner removed by the King's Commands, than the Irish Catholicks returned to their Duty, and after a Truce, which was continued from time to time till the solemn Peace concluded in 1648, as is before-mentioned ; they resign'd the whole Government of the Kingdom into the Hands of the D. of *Ormond*, joined their Troops with the King's Forces, and so continued, till Cromwell overpowering both, they were defeated together.

For a further Reason to convince any rational disinterested Man of the necessity of preserving the Irish, and of preferring their Welfare to the increasing the Power of the cruel Executioners of Cromwell's tyrannical Orders ; the English in Ireland are not near so strong as the Scotch ; and if the Irish should remain Neuters, the latter may chance turn out the former.

The Scotch are numerous, poor, and in the Neighbourhood of Ireland : They are an ingenious, cunning People, and so united to carry on a common Interest, notwithstanding their, otherwise, private Divisions among themselves, that several of our wise Men are not unapprehensive already, least they should one time or other attempt to make themselves sole-Masters of a Kingdom, as well situated for Trade, and commodious for

its Harbours, as it is fertile, and abounds with all that a good Country can produce, or Nature require, either for Ornament or the support of human Life; especially now that they are, not only in full possession of almost the whole large Province of *Ulster*; but are spread, well arm'd, over all the other Provinces of the Kingdom.

Add, that if the Irish, thro' Dispair and Sense of their severe Usage, and perhaps not wanting a favourable Inclination for the Scotch, should judge it more their Advantage to join with them, and to attack together; with arm'd Force, the English, who usurp their Estates; the English-*Clarendonian* Interest would undoubtedly be soon down in that Country. Would it not therefore be more advisable to pacify that Nation, by giving them their own, which in Justice cannot be refused them, and without violating all the Tyes of human Society (than leave it to a Presbyterian-Fanatical-Crew, drawn out of the very Scum and Dregs of the most Mechanick Part of the People, who puff'd with Pride, and lifting up their lofty Heads (Peacock-like) admire themselves in their long Party-colour'd Tails, which are but so many Spoils taken from their much better and honest Neighbours) rather than run the Hazard of seeing the Kingdom fall into other Hands, and separated for ever from the Imperial Crown of *England*.

I suppose, my Lord, you are pretty well satisfied, by this time, what were the Springs which gave motion to all the Troubles of 1641. and what were the fatal Consequences of them to Church and State; and that the sordid Avarice (not to say Impious) of *Clarendon* and his Favourites, doth sufficiently shew what were the pretended Reasons and Conveniencies of State, which required the undoing a whole Nation, truly Loyal, to rise upon their Ruins, the profess'd Enemies of the Monarchy, and whom the Crown, as it will never have their Hearts, may come, one time or other, to repent to have purchased at so excessive a Rate: Since it can expect nothing from the Increase of their Power, but the lessening, or a total overthrow of its own, and the downfall of all its Well-wishers, as by the woful Experience of so many direful and tragical Examples is but too well known. Whereas had right Reason, common Sense, and the more Christian, as well as more Politick Rule of

distri-

distributing Rewards and Punishments, in proportion to Merit and Demerit, Good and Evil, been observed ; the Good, instead of complaining, would be always in a condition to uphold Justice ; the Bad, deprived of the Means to attempt any thing contrary to their Duty ; and thereby the Peace and Happiness of the Publick secured. This makes the great *Richelieu* boldly affirm, “ That a Prince (tho’ never so firm and constant in himself) cannot without great Imprudence and hazarding his own undoing, entertain certain evil-minded Persons about him, who may surprize him unawares ; just as, in time of Plague, a malignant Vapour seizes on a sudden the Hearts of the strongest and most robust Men, when they think themselves soundest and least in Danger ; Therefore (adds this great Cardinal) these publick Pests should be removed, and never suffered to return till they have quite disgorged all their Poison ; which so seldom happens, that our Care for the Publick should rather oblige us to keep them at a distance, and out of the way of doing Mischief, than our Charity excite us to recall them. Since they never want the Will to do harm, even when they have no Power to effect it ; and that for one of them that becomes truly penitent, or a sincere Convert, twenty return to their old Vomit ; and that the Security of the State is of too great Importance to neglect so healing a Balsam, and that no Man can nourish a Snake in his Bosom, without running the risk of being sting’d by it : And, in short, that the more you endeavour to oblige, and gain these sort of People by Favours and fair Means, the more Insolent and Petulant they grow ; thinking that all that’s done for them, is still far less than their Due.”

But, it must be allowed, that as *Clarendon’s* Management of his own Domestick Affairs, has not been the wisest, so his Conduct in settling the Kingdom of Ireland, is much of a piece with his Foreign Negotiations, in which preferring his own private Advantage, to the Honour and Interest, as well of the King his Master, who employ’d him, as his Country ; he so behaved himself, that the immediate eminent Danger, he thereby threw our Neighbours into, would have soon reach’d us, and
fall’n

fall'n on our Heads, had not the clear-sighted Wisdom and discerning Genius of our King, timely prevented it, by his speedy enterring into a League with one side, and the Peace which was made on the other.

I hope therefore, that as his Majesty, inspired from Heaven, has by that means deliver'd us from the Danger his corrupt Minister had flung us into ; so, guided and influenced still by the same Divine Assistance, he'll Establish a solid, lasting Peace in these three Kingdoms, by a just Repeal, of those two wicked Acts, which concern the Settlement of Ireland, it being impossible that a Government can stand upon so much Inequality and Wrong ; or be happy where the Subjects are always at Varience, and must have an irreconcilable Hatred, one to the other, preceeding from the self-contradictions, absurdities and crying Injustices of these two Acts : Which will no sooner be done, than so Heroick and Signal an Act of Justice, and so becoming the Eternal Glory of the King, will avert the highly provok'd Judgment of God ; draw the Blessings of Heaven upon us ; the general Applause of all good Men ; and we shall discover all the secret Designs, which our Enemies may be carrying on, or endeavour to foment against our Interest, in the Hearts of a People, already discontented and driven to despair.

Therefore, my Lord, it Imports a Person of your Lordship's known Zeal, approv'd Loyalty, and unspotted Justice, now that you have had a true and faithful Account of what, most materially, pass'd in Ireland, since his Majesty's Restoration, to this hour, as you desired ; to do not only a Generous and Christian Act ; but, one too, so worthy the Rank you hold in the World, the Credit you so deservedly have with his Majesty, and for which the Posterity, even of both the Parties contesting, as well as his Majesty's Successors, cannot but bear your Lordship an eternal grateful Acknowledgement ; *that is*, humbly to pray that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to order this Matter, to be re-examined in Parliament, and that the Parties may appoint Deputies, to represent the true State of their Case ; because if you can obtain this Favour, and that thereup-

on this new Settlement of that Kingdom, appears to have been made without Fraud, unfair Design, or Partiality; your Lordship will cause so much Joy to, and will so highly oblige those, who possess the Estates, which occasion this discontent, that the Complaints and Injuries which the Irish load the Authors and Contrivers of this Settlement with, will soon cease: But if, on the other Hand, it be found against all the Rules of Equity and Justice; all the Bands of Human Society; the Honour and true Interest of the Crown, and future Security of the Monarchy. It is but reasonable and just, that his Majesty and the Parliament shou'd redress it, and submit their Wills and Thoughts, to the violated and infring'd Laws of God, and to true Reason, least that, under pretence of avoiding a sham State-inconvenience, and by committing such outrageous Acts of Injustice, they incur and draw on themselves, the terrible Sentence pronounced in the 6th chap. of the Book of *Wisdom*, ver. 2, 3, 4. &c. In these Words. ' Andite ergo ' Reges, & Intelligite, discite Judices finium terræ. ' Præbete aures, vos, qui continetis multitudines, & placetis vobis, in turbis nationum: quoniam data est a Domino Potestas vobis & Virtus ab altissimo, qui interrogabit opera vestra, & cogitationes scrutabitur; quoniam cum essetis Ministri Regni illius non recte Judicastis, nec Custodistis Legem Justitiæ, neque secundum voluntatem Dei ambulastis. Horrende, & cito apparebit vobis quoniam Judicium durissimum his, qui præfunt, fiet. Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia: Potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur; non enim subtrahet personam cujusquam Deus: Nec verebitur magnitudinem cujusquam. . . . Ad vos ergo Reges sunt hi Sermones ut discatis sapientiam, & non excidatis.' Which behoves them most seriously to think on, since it so nearly concerns Kings, Ministers, Judges and Parliaments. And then your Lordship will see the Truth or Falshood of what has been laid before you, by,

My L O R D,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

And most faithful humble Servant;

P O S T S C R I P T.

Whoever reflects on, and compares the foregoing Narrative. with the Proceedings of later Days, will soon be convinced of the Truth; and by seriously laying his Hand on his Conscience, and making it his own Case, is desired but to judge accordingly, without Passion or Prejudice.

To the * K I N G's most Excellent Majesty:
*The Faithful PROTESTATION and Humble
 REMONSTRANCE of the Roman Catholick
 Nobility and Gentry of IRELAND.*

YOUR Majesty's faithful Subjects, the Roman Catholick Nobility and Gentry of your Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, out of a deep Sense of those prodigious Afflictions under which the Monarchy of *Great-Britain* has before your Majesty's happy Restoration groan'd these 20 Years; and out of our sad Thoughts, which daily bring more and more Sighs from our Breasts, and Tears from our Eyes, for, not only, the still as yet continued Miseries and Sufferings of the Catholick Natives, of that our unfortunate Country, even amidst and ever since the so much famed Joys and Triumphs of your sacred Majesty's most auspicious Inauguration; but also of the Causes, whereinto we have made the most narrow Search we could, of these our own peculiar unparalleled Calamities; and upon Reflection on that Allegiance we owe, and ought by all divine and human Laws, and which we are, and have been always ready to swear and perform to your Majesty, our only Sovereign
 Lord

* Charles II. after the Restoration.

Lord on Earth ; and on the Scandal (notwithstanding) which some Persons (who are unwilling to understand aright our Religion) cast upon it, as if it were not consistent with all dutiful Obedience, and Faith to the supreme temporal Magistrates ; and upon Consideration likewise of a further Tye of Conscience on us for endeavouring, as much as in us lies, to clear your Majesty's Royal Breast from all Fears and Jealousies whatsoever ; if any peradventure your Majesty entertain of us, thro' the Suggestion of such as hate our Communion or Nation ; and to wipe off that Scandal, and allay the Odium under which our Church hath lain this last Century of Years, among other Christian People in these Nations, of a different Way from ours in the Worship of God : We humbly crave your Majesty's Pardon to vindicate both ourselves and our holy Belief, in that Particular of our Allegiance, by the ensuing Protestation ; which (in Imitation of the late good Example given by our Clergy* and pursuant to the general Doctrine and Practice of the Catholick Church) we make in the Sight of Heaven, and in the Presence of your Majesty, sincerely and truly, without Equivocation or mental Reservation,

“ **W**E do acknowledge and confess your Majesty to be our true and lawful King, supreme Lord and rightful Sovereign of this Realm of *Ireland*, and of all other your Majesty's Dominions : and therefore we acknowledge and confess ourselves to be obliged under Pain of Sin, to obey your Majesty in all Civil and temporal Affairs, as much as any other of your Majesty's Subjects ; and as the Laws and Rules of Government in this Kingdom do require at our Hands. And that notwithstanding any Power or Pretension of the Pope or See of *Rome*, or any Sentence or Declaration of what Kind or Quality soever, given, or to be given by the Pope, his Predecessors or Successors, or by any Authority Spiritual or Temporal, proceeding or derived from him, or his

* The Catholick Clergy had first given the Example.

his See, against your Majesty, or Royal Authority : We will still acknowledge, and perform to the utmost of our Abilities, our faithful Loyalty, and true Allegiance to your Majesty, And we openly disclaim and renounce all foreign Power, be it either Papal or Princely, Spiritual or Temporal in as much as it may seemable, or shall pretend to free, discharge, or absolve us from this Obligation, or shall any Way give us leave or Licence to raise Tumults, bear Arms, or offer any Violence to your Majesty's Person, Royal Authority, or to the State or Government : Being all of us ready, not only to discover and make known to your Majesty, and to your Ministers, all the Treasons made against your Majesty, or Them, which shall come to our Hearing ; but also to lose our Lives in the Defence of your Majesty's Person and Royal Authority, and to resist, with our best Endeavours, all Conspiracies and Attempts against your Majesty, be they fram'd or sent under what Pretence, or patronized by what Foreign Power or Authority soever : And further we profess, that all absolute Princes and Supream Governors, of what Religion soever they be, are God's Lieutenants on Earth ; and that Obedience is due to them according to the Laws of each Common-wealth respectively, in all Civil and Temporal Affairs. And therefore we do here protest against all Doctrine and Authority to the contrary. And we do hold it impious, and against the Word of God, to maintain that any private Subject may kill or murder the anointed of God, his Prince, tho' of a different Belief and Religion from his. And we abhor and detest the Practice thereof as damnable and wicked."

These being the Tenets of our Religion in Point of Loyalty and Submission to your Majesty's Authority, and our Observance and Veneration of, or Communion with, the See of *Rome*, in Matters purely Spiritual, no Way entrenching on that perfect Obedience, which by our Birth, by the Laws of God and Man, we are bound to pay to your Majesty, our natural and lawful Sovereign.

Prostrate

Prostrate at your Majesty's Feet we most humbly beg, that all your Majesty's Roman Catholick Subjects of *Ireland*, who shall by Subscription, or Consent, concur to this publick Protestation of Loyalty, be protected from Persecution for the Profession or Exercise of their Religion, and all former Laws upon that Account, against them repeal'd.

Luke, Earl of Fingal ; Morrogh, Earl of Inchiquin ; Donogh, Earl of Clancarty ; Oliver, Earl of Tircconnel ; Theobald, Earl of Carlingford ; Edmund, Viscount Mont-Garret ; Thomas, Viscount Dillon ; Arthur, Viscount Iveagh ; William, Viscount Clane ; Charles, Viscount Muskry ; William, Viscount Taaf ; Oliver, Baron of Lowth ; William, Baron of Castle-Connell ; Colonel Charles Dillon ; Matthew Plunket, Esq ; Lieutenant-Colonel Ignatius Nugent ; Edward Plunket, Esq ; Nicholas Plunket, Knight ; Matthew Plunket, of Dunsay ; Christopher Plunket, of Dunsany ; James Dillon, Knight ; Colonel Christopher Bryan ; Robert Talbot, Baronet ; Ullick Burk, Baronet ; Edward Fitz-Harris, Baronet ; Valentine Browne, Baronet ; Luke Bath, Baronet ; Henry Slingsby, Knight ; John Bellew, Knight ; Colonel William Burk ; Colonel John Fitz-Patrick ; Colonel Brian Mac-Mahon ; Colonel Miles Reily ; Colonel Gilbert Talbot ; Colonel Miles Power ; Lieutenant-Colonel Pierce Lacy ; Lieutenant-Colonel Ullick Burk ; Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Scurlog.

Esquires and Gentlemen.

Jeffrey Brown, of Galway ; John Walsh, of Ballynvoher ; Patrick Bryan ; James Fitz-Gerrald, of Laccach ; John Talbot, of Malahyde ; Thomas Luttrell ; of Luttrell's Town ; John Holliwood, of Artaine ; Henry O Neil (Son to Sir Phelim O Neil) * Dudley Bagnel, of Dunlickny ; Henry Draket, of Mornantor ; Edward Butler, of Monihore ; Nicholas Darcy, of Platin ; Patrick Sarsfield, of Lucan ; John Macnamara, of Great-Cratlach ; James Talbot, of Bally-connel ;
not S.T.P. who was only 32 or 3 when John the rebellion broke out.

John Balf, of Borrestown ; James Talbot, of Temploge ; Patrick Archer ; Luke Dowdall, of Athlomy ; Philip Hore, of Kilsalchan ; James Barnewell, of Bremore ; James Allen, of St. Wolfans ; Thomas Cantwel, of Ballamakedy ; John Cantwel, of Cantwel's Court ; Edmund Dillon, of Streams-Town ; John Flemming, of Sta-hallmock ; Peter Sherlock, of Grace-Dieu ; Chris. Archbold, of Timeling ; Patrick Moore, of Dowans Town ; Nicholas Haly, of Towrine ; Pierce Butler, of Calan ; Pierce Putler of Killvealegher ; John Segrave, of Cabragh ; Richard Wadding, of Killbarry ; Tho. Brown, of Clandonnel-Roe ; Oliver Cashel, of Dundalk ; Pat. Clinton, of Irish Town ; Capt. Chris. Turner ; John Bagot ; Wm. Grace ; John Arthur, of Hogestown ; Marcus Laffan, of Grace-town ; Chris. Aylmer, of Belrath ; James Plunket, of Gibstown ; Tho. S. John, of Mortles Town ; Wm. Barryoge, of Kincorran ; Rich. Strang, of Rockwels Castle ; James Butler, of Ballinekill ; Anthony Colclough ; Tho. Sarsfield, of Sarsfields Town ; Pierce Neagle, of Monanimny ; James Wolverston, of Stelergan ; Michael Bret ; Pat. Boyton, of Ballyturny-macoris ; James White, of Chambally ; Major Laurence Dempsey ; Capt. Rich. Dempsey ; Edw. Nugent, of Culvin ; Pat. Porter, of Kinstown ; Major Marcus Furlong.

The *CIVIL* and *MILITARY* ARTICLES of *LIMERICK*.

Agreed upon the 3d of *October*, 1691.

WILLIAM and MARY, by the Grace of God,
&c. To all to whom these presents shall come,
Greeting. Whereas certain Articles, bearing Date the
3d of *October* last past, made and agreed on between
our Justices of our Kingdom of Ireland, and our General

ral of our Forces there, on the one part ; and several Officers there commanding within the City of Limerick in our said Kingdom, on the other part : Whereby our said Justices and General did undertake, that we should ratify those Articles within the Space of eight months, or sooner ; and use their utmost Endeavours that the same should be Ratified and Confirmed in parliament. The Tenour of which said Articles, is as follows, viz.

ART. I. **T**HE Roman Catholicks of this Kingdom shall enjoy such Privileges in the Exercise of their Religion, as are consistent with the Laws of Ireland ; or as they did enjoy in the Reign of K. Charles II. And their Majesties, as soon as their Affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this Kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholicks such farther Security in that particular, as may preserve them from any Disturbance, upon the Account of their said Religion,

Art. II. All the Inhabitants or Residents of Limerick, or any other Garison now in the possession of the Irish, and all Officers and Soldiers now in Arms, under any Commission of K. James, or those Authorized by him, to grant the same in the several Counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork and Mayo, or any of them ; and all the Commissioned Officers in their Majesties Quarters, that belong to the Irish Regiments, now in being, that are Treated with, and who are not prisoners of War, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their Majesties Obedience ; and their and every of their Heirs, shall hold, possess and enjoy, all and every their Estates of Freehold and Inheritance ; and all the Rights, Titles and Interests, Privileges and Immunities, which they, and every, or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intituled to, in the Reign of K. Charles II. or at any time since, by the Laws and Statutes that were in force in the said Reign of K. Charles II. and shall be put in possession, by order of the Government, of such of them as are in the King's Hands, or the Hands of his Tenants, without being put to any Suit or Trouble therein ; and all such

Estates shall be freed and discharg'd from all Arrears of Crown-Rents. Quit-Rents and other publick Charges, incurr'd and become due since Michaelmas 1688, to the Day of the Date hereof; and all Persons comprehended in this Article shall have, hold and enjoy, all their Goods and Chattels, real and personal, to them, or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own Hands, or the Hands of any Persons whatsoever in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them: And all, and every the said Persons, of what Profession, Trade, or Calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise and practise their severall and respective Professions, Trades, and Callings, as freely as they did use, exercise and enjoy the same in the reign of K. Charles II. provided that nothing in this Article contained, be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting Person now out of the Kingdom, except what are hereafter comprized: Provided also, that no Person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the Benefit of this Article, that shall neglect, or refuse to take the Oaths of Allegiance, made by Act of Parliament in England, in the first Year of the Reign of their present Majesties, when there unto required.

Art. III. All Merchants, or reputed Merchants of the City of Limerick, or of any other Garrison, now possess'd by the Irish, or of any Town or Place in the Counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the Seas, that have not bore Arms since their Majesties Declaration in Feb. 1688. shall have the Benefit of the second Article in the same manner, as if they were present; provided such Merchants and reputed Merchants, do repair into this Kingdom within the Space of eight Months from the Date hereof.

Art. IV. The following Officers, viz. Col. Simon Luttrell, Capt. Rowland-White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly call'd Mount-Leinster, now belonging to the Regiments in the aforesaid Garrisons and Quarters of the Irish Army, who were beyond the Seas, and sent thither upon Affairs of their respective Regiments, or the Army in general, shall have the Benefit and Advantage of the second Article; provided, they return hither within the space of eight

eight Months from the Date of these Presents, and submit to their Majesties Government, and take the above-mentioned Oath.

Art. V. That all and singular, the said Persons comprized in the second and third Articles, shall have a general Pardon of all Attainders, Outlawries, Treasons, Misprisions of Treason, Premunires, Felonies, Trespases, and other Crimes and Misdemeanors whatsoever, by them, or any of them, committed since the Beginning of the Reign of K. James II. and if any of them are attainted by Parliament, the Lords Justices, and General, will use their best Endeavour to get the same repeal'd by Parliament, and the Outlawries to be versed gratis, all but Writing Clerks Fees.

Art. VI. And whereas these present Wars have drawn on great Violence, on both Parts, and that if leave were given to the bringing all Sorts of private Actions, the Animosities would probably continue, that have been too long on Foot, and the publick Disturbances last: For the Quieting and Settling therefore of this Kingdom, and avoiding those Inconveniencies which would be the necessary Consequence of the contrary, no Person or Persons whatsoever, comprized in the foregoing Articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the Suit of any Party or Parties whatsoever, for any Trespases by them committed, or for any Arms, Horses, Money, Goods, Chatties, Merchandizes, or Provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken, during the Time of the War. And no Person or Persons whatsoever, in the second and third Articles comprized, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the Rents, or mean Rates of any Lands, Tenements, or Houses, by him or them received or enjoyed in this Kingdom, since the Beginning of the present War, to the Day of the Date hereof, nor for any Waste or Trespas, by him or them committed in any such Lands, Tenements, or Houses: And it is also agreed, that this Article shall be mutual and reciprocal, on both Sides.

Art. VII. Every Nobleman and Gentleman comprized in the said second and third Article shall have Liberty to ride with a Sword and case of Pistols, if they

think fit ; and keep a Gun in their Houses, for the Defence of the same, or for Fowling.

Art. VIII. The Inhabitants and Residents in the City of Limerick, and other Garisons, shall be permitted to remove their Goods, Chattels and Provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and search'd, or paying any manner of Duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the Houses they now have, for the space of six Weeks next ensuing the Date hereof.

Art. IX. The Oath to be administred to such Roman Catholicks as submit to their Majesties Government, shall be the Oath abovesaid and no other.

Art. X. No Person or Persons, who shall at any Time hereafter break these Articles or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other Person or Persons, to forfeit or lose the Benefit of the same.

Art. XI. The Lords justices and General do promise to use their utmost Endeavours, that all the Persons comprehended in the above-mentioned Articles, shall be protected and defended from all Arrests and Executions for Debt or Damage, for the space of 8 Months, next ensuing the Date hereof.

Art. XII. Lastly, the Lords Justices and General do undertake, that their Majesties will ratify these Articles, within the space of 8 Months or sooner, and use their utmost Endeavours, that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in Parliament.

Art. XIII. And whereas Col. John Brown stood indebted to several Protestants, by Judgment of Record ; which appearing to the late Government, the L. Tyrconel, and L. Lucan, took away the Effects the said J. Brown had to answer the said Debts, and promised to clear the said J. Brown of the said Debts ; which Effects were taken for the publick Use of the Irish, and their Army ; for freeing the said L. Lucan of his said Engagement, past on their publick Account, for payment of the said Protestants, and for preventing the Ruin of the said J. Brown, and for Satisfaction of his Creditors, at the Instance of the L. Lucan, and the rest of the Persons aforesaid, it is agreed, That the said Lords Justices, and the said Baron de Ginckle, shall intercede with
the

the King and Parliament, to have the Estates secured to Roman Catholicks, by Articles and Capitulation in this Kingdom ; charged with, and equally liable to the Payment of so much of the said Debts, as the said L. Lucan upon stating Accounts with the said J. Brown, shall certify under his Hand, that the Effects taken from the said Brown amount unto ; which Account is to be stated, and the Ballance certified by the said L. Lucan in 21 Days after the Date hereof.

For the true performance hereof, We have hereunto set our Hands,

P R E S E N T.

Scravemore,	} {	Charles Porter.
H. Maccay.		Tho. Conningsby.
T. Talmash.		Bar. de Ginckle.

And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since in pursuance of the said Articles, surrendered unto Us. Now, know ye, That We having considered of the said Articles, and are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that we do for Us, our Heirs and Successors, as far as in Us lies, ratifie and confirm the same, and every Clause, Matter and Thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an Act of parliament shall be found to be necessary, We shall recommend the same to be made good by parliament, and shall give our Royal Assent to any Bill or Bills, that shall be passed by our two Houses of parliament to that purpose.

And whereas it appears unto Us, that it was agreed between the Parties, to the said Articles, that after the Words, " Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them," in the second of the said Articles, the Words following, viz. " And all such as are under their protection in the said Counties," should be inserted, and be part of the said Articles. Which Words having been casually omitted by the Writer, the Omission was not discovered till after the said Articles were signed, but was taken Notice of before the second Town was surrendered. And that our said Justices, and General, or one of them did promise that the said Clause should be made good,

it being within the Intention of the Capitulation, and inserted in the foul Draught thereof.

Our further Will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratifie and confirm the said omitted Words, viz. (And all such as are under their protection in the said Counties) hereby for us, our Heirs and Successors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every Person and Persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the Benefit thereof, in such and the same manner, as if the said Words had been inserted in their proper place, in the said second Article ; any Omission, Defect, or mistake in the said second Article, in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided always, and our Will and Pleasure is, That these our Letters-patents shall be enroll'd in our Court of Chancery, in our said Kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one Year next ensuing. In Witness, &c.

Witness Our Self at Westminster, the 24th Day of February, 1691,

B R I D G E S.

Examinat,	{	S. Keck.	{	In Cancel
per nos		Lacon Wm. Childe.		Magistros.

MILITARY ARTICLES

Agreed upon between the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief of the English Army, on the one side.

And, the Lieutenant-Generals, De Ussoon, and De Tesse, Commanders in Chief of the Irish Army on the other ; and the General Officers hereunto subscribing.

ART. I. **T**HAT all Persons, without any Exceptions, of what Quality or Condition soever, that are willing to leave the Kingdom of Ireland, shall

shall have free Liberty to go to any Country beyond the Seas (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their Families, Household Stuff, Plate and Jewels,

Art. II. That all General Officers, Colonels, and, in general, all other Officers of Horse, Dragoons and Foot Guards, Troopers, Dragooners, and Soldiers of all Kinds that are in any Garrison, Place or Post, now in the Hands of the Irish, or incamp'd in the Counties of Cork, Clare and Kerry, as also those called Rapparees or Volunteers, that are willing to go beyond Seas as aforesaid, shall have free Leave to imbarck themselves, where-ever the Ships are, that are appointed to transport them; and to come in whole Bodies, as they are now compos'd, or in parties, companies, or otherwise without having any Impediment, directly or indirectly.

Art. III. That all Persons above-mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland, and go into France, shall have leave to declare it at the Times and places hereafter mentioned, viz The Troops in Limerick, on Tuesday next in Limerick; the Horse, at their camp on Wednesday; and the other Forces that are dispersed in the Counties of Clare, Kerry and Cork, on the 8th Instant, and on none other, before Mons. Tameron, the French Intendant, and Col. Withers; and after such Declaration is made, the Troops that will go into France must remain under the Command and Discipline of their Officers, that are to conduct them thither; and Deserters of each Side shall be given up and punished accordingly.

Art. IV. That all English and Scotch Officers, that serve now in Ireland, shall be included in this Capitulation, as well for the Security of their Estates and Goods, in England, Scotland and Ireland (if they are willing to remain here) as for passing freely into France, or any other Country to serve.

Art. V. That all the General French Officers, the Intendant, the Engineers, the Commissaries at War, and of the Artillery, the Treasurer, and other French Officers, Strangers, and all others whatsoever, that are in Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the Army, or that do

Trade or Commerce, or are otherwise employed in any Kind of Station or Condition, shall have free Leave to pass into France, or any other Country, and shall have leave to ship themselves, with all their Horses, Equipage, Plate, Papers; and all their Effects whatever; and that General Ginckle will order Pass-ports for them, Convoys and Carriages by Land and Water, to carry them safe from Limerick, to the Ships where they shall be embarked, without paying any Thing for the said Carriages, or to those that are employed therein, with their Horses, Cars, Boats and Shallops.

Art. VI. That if any of the aforesaid Equipage, Merchandize, Horses, Money, Plate, or other Moveables, or Household-stuff, belonging to the said Irish Troops, or the other French Officers, or other particular Persons whatsoever, be robbed, destroy'd, or taken away by the Troops of the said General, the said General will order it to be restored, or payment to be made, according to the Value that is given in upon Oath by the Person so robb'd, or plundered; and the said Irish Troops to be transported as aforesaid; and all other Persons belonging to them, are to observe good Order, in their March and Quarters; and shall restore whatever they shall take from the Country, or make Restitution for the same.

Art. VII. That to facilitate the transporting the said Troops, the General will furnish 50 Ships, each Ship Burthen 200 Tuns; for which the Persons to be transported, shall not be obliged to pay; and so more if there shall be Occasion, without their paying for them; and if any of the said Ships shall be of lesser Burthen, he will furnish more in Number to countervail; and also give two Men of War to embark the principal Officers, and serve for a Convoy to the Vessels of Burthen.

Art. VIII. That a Commisary shall be immediately sent to Cork to visit the Transport Ships, and what Condition they are in for sailing; and that as soon as they are ready, the Troops to be transported, shall march with all convenient Speed, the nearest Way in order to embark there. And if there shall be any more Men to be transported, than can be carried off in the said 50 Ships,

Ships, the rest shall quit the English Town of Limerick, and march to such Quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient for their Transportation; where they shall remain till the other 20 Ships be ready, which are to be in a Month; and may embark on any French Ship that may come in the mean Time.

Art. IX. That the said Ships shall be furnished with Forrage for Horses, and all necessary Provisions to subsist the Officers, Troops, Dragoons, and Soldiers, and all other Persons that are shipp'd to be transported into France; which Provisions shall be paid for, as soon as all are disembarked at Brest or Nantz, upon the Coast of Britany, or any other Port in France they can make.

Art. X. And to secure the Return of the said Ships (the Danger of the Seas excepted) and payment for the said Provisions, Hostages shall be given.

Art. XI. That the Garisons of Clare-Castle, Ross, and all other Foot that are in Garisons, in the Counties of Clare, Cork and Kerry, shall have the Advantage of this Capitulation, and such part of those Garisons as design to go beyond Seas, shall march out with their Arms, Baggage. Drums beating, Ball in Mouth, Match lighted at both Ends, and Colours flying, with all the Provisions, and half the Ammunition that is in the said Garisons, and join the Horse that march to be transported; or if then there's not Shipping enough for the Body of Foot and Horse, that is to be next transported, General Ginckle will Order, that they be furnished with Carriages for that Purpose; and what Provision they shall want in their March, they paying for the said provisions; or else, that they may take it out of their own Magazines,

Art. XII. That all the Troops of Horse and Dragoons, that are in the Counties of Cork, Kerry and Clare, shall also have the Benefit of this Capitulation; and that such as will pass into France, shall have Quarters given them in the Counties of Clare and Kerry, apart from the Troops that are commanded by General Ginckle, until they can be shipped; and within their Quarters they shall pay for every thing, except Forrage, and Pasture for their Horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

Art. XIII. Those of the Garrison of Sligo, that are joined to the Irish Army, shall have the Benefit of this Capitulation ; and Orders shall be sent to them that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest Way.

Art. XIV. The Irish may have Liberty to transport 900 Horse, including Horses for the Officers, which shall be transported gratis : and as for the Troops that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves as they think fit ; giving up their Horse, and Arms to such Persons as the General shall appoint.

Art. XV. It shall be permitted to those that are appointed to take Care for the Subsistence of the Horse, that are willing to go into France, to buy Hay and Corn at the King's Rates ; wherever they can find it, in the Quarters that are assigned for them, without any Lett or Molestation ; and to carry all necessary Provisions out of the City of Limerick : And for this purpose the General will furnish convenient Carriages for them, to the Places where they shall be embarked.

Art. XVI. It shall be lawful to make use of the Hay, preserved in the Stores of the County of Kerry, for the Horses that shall be embarked ; and if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy Hay and Oats, wherever it shall be found, at the King's Rates.

Art. XVII. That all Prisoners of War, that were in Ireland the 28th of September shall be set at Liberty on both Sides ; and the General promises to use his Endeavour, that those that are in England and Flanders shall be set at Liberty also.

Art. XVIII. The General will cause Provisions and Medicines, to be furnished to the sick and wounded Officers, Troopers, Dragoons, and Soldiers of the Irish Army ; that cannot pass into France at the first Imbarkment ; and after they are cured, will order them Ships to pass into France, if they are willing to go.

Art. XIX. That at the signing hereof, the General will send a Ship express to France ; and that besides he will furnish two Ships of those that are now in the River of Limerick, to transport two Persons into France, that are to be sent to give Notice of this Treaty ; and that

the Commanders of the said Ships shall have Orders to put ashore at the next part of France, where they shall make.

Art. XX. That all those of the said Troops, Officers, and others, of what Character soever, that would pass into France, shall not be stopt upon the Account of Debt or any other Pretext.

Art. XXI. If after signing this present Treaty, and before the Arrival of the Fleet, a French Packet-Boat, or other Transport Ship, shall arrive from France, in any other part of Ireland, the General will Order a Pass-port, not only for such as must go on Board the said Ships, but to the Ships, to come to the nearest Port, to the Place where the Troops to be transported shall be quartered.

Art. XXII. That after the Arrival of the said Fleet, there shall be free Communication and Passage between it and the Quarters of the above-said Troops ; and especially, for all those that have Passes from the chief Commanders of the said Fleet, or from Mons. Tameron the Intendant.

Art. XXIII. In consideration of the present Capitulation, the two Towns of Limerick shall be delivered, and put into the Hands of the General, or any other Person he shall appoint at the Time and Days hereafter specified, viz. The Irish Town, except the Magazines and Hospital, on the Day of the signing of these present Articles ; and as for the English Town, it shall remain together with the Island, and the free Passage of Thomond Bridge, in the Hands of those of the Irish Army that are now in the Garison, or that shall hereafter come from the Counties of Cork, Kerry, Clare, Sligo, and other Places above-mentioned, until there shall be convenience found for their Transportation.

Art. XXIV. And to prevent all Disorders that may happen between the Garison that the General shall place in the Irish Town, which shall be delivered to him, and the Irish Troopers that shall remain in the English Town, and the Island, which they may do, until the Troops to be embarked on the first 50 Ships shall be gone for France, and no longer ; they shall intrench themselves

themselves on both sides, to hinder the Communication of the said Garisons; and it shall be prohibited on both sides, to offer any thing that is offensive; and the Parties offending shall be punished on either side:

Art. XXV. That it shall be lawful for the said Garison to march out all at once, or at different Times, as they can be embarked, with Arms, Baggage, Drums beating, Match lighted at both Ends, Bullet in Mouth, Colours flying, six Brass Guns, such as the besieged will choose, two Mortar-pieces and half the Ammunition that is now in the Magazines of the said Place; and for this purpose, an Inventory of all the Ammunition in the Garison shall be made, in the presence of any Person that the General shall appoint, the next Day after these present Articles shall be signed.

Art. XXVI. All the Magazines of Provisions shall remain in the Hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the Subsistence of those of the Irish Army that will pass into France; and if there shall not be sufficient in the Stores, for the support of the said Troops, whilst they stay in this Kingdom, and are crossing the Seas, that, upon giving up an account of their Numbers, the General will furnish them with sufficient Provisions, at the King's Rates; and that there shall be a free Market at Limerick, and other Quarters, where the said Troops shall be; and in case any Provision shall remain in the Magazines of Limerick, when the Town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the Price deducted out of what is to be paid for the Provisions to be furnished to the Troops on Ship-board.

Art. XXVII. That there shall be a Cessation of Arms at Land, as also at Sea, with respect to the Ships whether English, Dutch or French, designed for the Transportation of the said Troops, until they shall be returned to their respective Harbours; and that on both sides they shall be furnished with sufficient Pass-ports, both for Ships and Men; and if any Sea commander, or Captain of a Ship, or any Officer, Trooper, Dragoon, Soldier, or any other Person, shall act contrary to this Cessation, the Persons so acting, shall be punished on either side, and Satisfaction shall be made for the Wrong

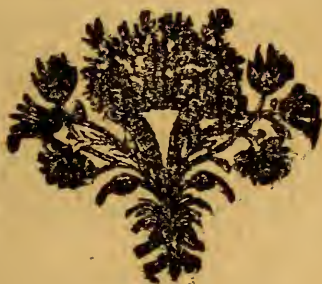
Wrong that is done, and Officers shall be sent to the Mouth of the River of Limerick, to give Notice to the Commanders of the English and French Fleets, of the present Conjunction, that they may observe the Cessation of Arms accordingly.

Art. XXVIII. That for the Security of the Execution of this present Capitulation, and of each Article therein contained, the Besieged shall give the following Hostages ——— And the General shall give ———

Art. XXIX. If before this Capitulation is fully executed, there happens any change in the Government, or Command in the Army, which is now commanded by General Ginckle ; all those that shall be appointed to command the same, shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these Articles, or cause it to be executed punctually ; and shall not act contrary on any Account whatsoever.

October, 1691.

BARON DE GINCKLE.



THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
FROM THE FOUNDATION
TO THE PRESENT
BY JOHN STOW
1618

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON



A B R I E F
A C C O U N T

From the most Authentic

Protestant Writers

O F T H E

CAUSES, MOTIVES, and MISCHIEFS,

O F T H E

Irish Rebellion,

O N

The 23d Day of October, 1641.

Deliver'd in a DIALOGUE between a

Dissenter, and a Member of the

Church of Ireland, as by Law Established.

Together with an

A P P E N D I X,

C O N T A I N I N G,

A Remonstrance of the
Gentry, and Commona-
lity of the County of
Cavan, Written by Bp.
Bedell; in 1641.

Mr. Howell's Account of
the Causes of this Re-
bellion.

Extract of the Brief Narra-
tive of the same pub-
lish'd in 1660, by the
Irish Papists.

A Collection of the Massa-
cres committed on the
Irish: And a Relation of
the Affair of Glenco.

*Satis firmum est, ad probandam veritatem, Testimonium,
quod ab ipsis perhibetur Inimicis.* Lactant.

LONDON: Printed in the Year, 1751.

See fly-leaf.

By Dr. John Curran.



A

DIALOGUE, &c.

CHURCHMAN.



T is confess'd on all Hands, that both at this present troublesome Conjunction, and for more than fifty Years past the Irish Papists among us have behaved as dutifully, and submissively (notwithstanding the particular Restraints they have always lain under) as any other of his Majesty's Subjects. Why therefore is the Rebellion of Forty-one, with so many unjust, and inhuman Exagerations, at this time, trump'd up against them? Why, I say, when no present Cause of Complaint can be assigned by us against that People, who are our Brethren, both as Christians, and as Men, do we thus unmercifully rip up old Sores, and revive obsolete Quarrels to bring an odium upon them, which we ourselves allow they never personally deserved? For my part, I never look into those bitter Invectives, that are daily coming out against them, without an Apprehension that they were designed to spirit up their numerous, and powerful Enemies to extirpate, by all possible Means, that useful, and inoffensive set of Men from the Face of the Earth.

D I S S E N T E R.

What renders the traiterous, and inhuman Proceedings of the Irish Papists, in the Year 1641, utterly inexcusable, and necessary to be always remembered by us, is, That, at that Juncture, the state of their Affairs,

both

both spiritual and temporal, was, according to all our Historians, and Divines, as quiet and happy, as they themselves could reasonably wish it. * “ Whatever, says the E. of Clarendon, their Land, Labour or Industry produced, was their Own, being free from fear of having it taken from them by the King, on any pretence whatsoever, without their own content :” And as to spiritual Matters, the same noble Historian informs us, “ That the whole Nation enjoy’d an undisturbed exercise of their Religion; and that even in Dublin (where the Seat of the King’s chief Governor was) they went as Publickly, and uninterruptedly to their Devotions, as He went to his.—In this blessed Condition of Peace and Security, concludes his Lordship, the English and Irish, the Protestants and Roman Catholicks lived, &c. during the whole happy Reign of K. James, and from his Death, every degree of their Happiness was Increased and Improved, under the Government of his late Majesty (K. Charles I.)”

Ch. Indeed I wonder not a little, that the E. of Clarendon has thus confidently asserted so notorious a Falshood; but I think it very strange, that all our Historians, Preachers and Libellers since his time, have taken up that Falshood from him upon trust, and vended it as a certain Truth, upon all occasions, wherein that unhappy Affair is mentioned.

Diff. And will you, Sir, undertake to prove it a Falshood?

Ch. I will, in every particular; and that too, by Authorities, which, even to you, will appear unexceptionable.

Diff. What you say surprizes me exceedingly?

Ch. For, to begin with Temporal Matters, the Business of defective Titles alone, which, in both these Reigns, was rigorously prosecuted in Ireland, by the then Lords Deputies, chiefly with a view to enrich themselves, to extirpate the Roman Catholick Natives, and to plant foreign Protestants on their Estates, was not, you will allow, very compatible with that blessed

Peace

Peace and Security, which your noble Historian informs us these Natives then enjoy'd.

Diff. The Business of defective Titles (as I take it) in Ireland, was no more than this; that such Persons, as were possessed of Estates in that Kingdom, and could not upon a judicial Enquiry, shew any legal Title to them, were condemned to a Forfeiture of them; and such Estates were to revert to the Crown.

Ch. It would be too tedious to enlarge on the Nature of that Business at present; but I will give you a sketch of one Branch of it, and of the then Proceedings therein, in the Words of a Committee of the Irish H. of Commons, as set forth in their Letter to the E. of Strafford, in the Year 1634.* wherein, after having mentioned, that this uncertainty of their Estates, or the calling in Question their Titles to them (whereby manifold Inconveniencies had befallen the Nation) was first occasioned, by "The embezzeling, burning and defacing of Records, and other Evidences, which happened in that Realm, in Times loose, and uncertain, troubled with continual War, and that it was afterwards increased by the Negligence, or Ignorance of sundry Persons employed heretofore in passing of Patents, and Estates from the Crown; whereby many Errors in Law crept into these Grants." They add, "Whereof divers indigent Persons, with Eagles Eyes piercing thereinto, commonly took advantage, to the Utter Overthrow of many noble and deserving Persons, that for valuable Considerations of Service, or Money, or Both, honourably, and fairly acquired these Estates."

Diff. These Words seem to allude to the Proceedings of Sir Arthur Chichester in K. James the 1st's Reign, and to those of the L. Falkland in that of K. Charles I. concerning that Affair; and yet I think both these Deputies therein only acted the part of faithful Servants to the Crown?

Ch. And nobly were they rewarded for such Service! § Sir Arthur Chichester with Land, which, in the Year 1638.

* Earl of Strafford's State Let. Vol. 1. fol. 310.

§ Id. ib. Vol. 2. fol. 294.

1638. was of no less than 10,000 l. yearly value ; and the L. Falkland ; with 10,000 l. at one Gift. And it is probable, that the E. of Strafford, succeeding to their Power and Authority, exerted himself so arbitrarily, and tyrannically, as we find he did, in the same Business, in hopes of meeting with an equal Recompence.

Diff. In what Respect did the E. of Strafford exert himself arbitrarily, and tyrannically in that Business ?

Ch. I'll tell you that in his own Words ; — First, in this kind of Tryal of the Titles of the Natives to their Estates, which their Forefathers had quietly enjoyed for many Centuries, he proposed the raising of * 500 Horse, as Good lookers-on." Secondly, † " He resolved to treat with such as might give furtherance in finding the Title for the King." Thirdly, " He enquired out § fit Men to serve upon Juries" on that occasion. Fourthly, || " He obtained a Grant from his Majesty of four Shillings in the Pound to the Lord Chief Justice, and the Lord Chief Baron of Ireland, forth of the first yearly Rent raised upon the Commission of defective Titles ;" which Money " (Says his Lordship) upon Observation, I find to be the best given that ever was, for they attend that Business with a Care and Diligence, as if it were their own Private." Fifthly, ** in the County of Galway, where the Jury refused to dispossess the Natives, and find the Title in the King, he find the Sheriff, that returned them a 1000 l. to his Majesty, and bound over the Jury to answer in the Castle Chamber, " Where, says he, we conceive it is fit that their Pertinacious Carriage be follow'd with all Just Severity."

Diff. These Proceedings were not, I confess, very equitable ?

Ch. By these means, his Lordship actually depriv'd many of the Irish Papists of their Estates ; and seized upon them for the King's use ; and he attempted to do the like on the entire Counties of Roscommon, Mayo, and Cork ; with some parts of Tipperary, Limerick, Wicklow

* Id. ib. V. 2. fol. 198. † V. 1. fol. 339. § Id. ib. || Id. ib. V. 2. fol. 41. ** Id. ib. V. 1. fol. 451.

Wicklow and other places ; * although his Majesty had, in the Year 1628. given his Royal Promise to that People, under his princely Signet (in consideration of 270,000 l. by them freely given to him) to secure them in their Estates against all such Enquiries, and to have That, and many others, past into Laws, at the next meeting of the Parliament.

Diff. And what hindered his Majesty from fulfilling his Royal Promise to that People ?

Ch. The pressing, and constant Sollicitations of the E. of Strafford dissuading him from it. For in the Year 1634. after the Irish Commons had chearfully granted the new Subsidies, then demanded of them, they sent that Letter, which I have already mentioned, to his Lordship, to be by him transmitted into England, wherein reminding his Lordship of the King's Promise to them, they set forth " The Comfort they took in his Majesty's Royal Word, The best of Assurances, and in his Princely Signature, formerly past to them." But the E. of Strafford, as I said before, instead of promoting the performance of that Promise, as in Justice to that People, and in Honour of his Majesty's Word he ought to have done, used all the Means in his Power to prevent it ; and even † offered his Majesty to take upon himself all the Blame and Scandal, which he knew must attend so unjust and perfidious a Denial ; for which wonderful piece of Service, he soon § after received, in a Letter under the King's own Hand, his Majesty's Thanks, and Approbation ; and such was the blessed, and happy Condition, which, Clarendon tells us, the Irish lived in, at that Juncture, with regard to Temporals ; and as for spiritual Matters, their situation —

Diff. Was not, I hope, quite so bad ? —

Ch. It was indeed much worse—for instead of enjoying an-uninterrupted, and publick Exercise of their Religion, as your noble Historian would make the World believe they did, they could not obtain even a Tolleration of it, during a great part of that, and the former

* Id. ib. vol. 1. fol. 310.
ib. vol. 1. fol. 331.

† Id. ibid.

§ Id.

former Reign : For “ In the Year * 1629, that memorable Protestation, says Borlace, made by the Bishop against Popery, and published in Christ-Church, Dublin, by Dr. Downham, Bp. of Derry, was grateful :” In the same Year, says the Bp. of Dromore, † “ A strict Proclamation issued against the Exercise of the Popish Rites and Ceremonies.” And it was upon occasion of this Proclamation and Persecution “ That § the Irish Roman Catholicks offered constantly to pay an Army of 5000 Foot, and 500 Horse, for his Majesty’s Service, provided they might be tolerated in the Exercise of their Religion ; which offer was not accepted.”

Diff. ’Tis strange, that the E. of Clarendon should have been ignorant of these Matters ?

Ch. ’Tis plain, he could not be ignorant of them ; and perhaps I shall account to you, some other Time, for his having so boldly asserted these, and other notorious Untruths to the Prejudice of the Irish.—But to go on with my Authorities, “ In 1633. Richard E. of Cork, and Sir Adam Laftus, being Lords Justices, ‡ the Roman Catholick Clergy of Dublin were suppressed, and 15 Houses (Chapels) by Direction of the Lords of the Council in England seized on for the King’s use ; and the Fryars and Priests were so persecuted, as two (|| says Borlace) hang’d themselves in their own Defence.” I omit here, what I suppose is known to every Body, that the Tax of 12 pence a Sunday was rigorously levied on the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, for absenting themselves from Protestant Service, in both these Reigns.

Diff. I insist upon it, that the E. of Strafford did suspend that Tax in Ireland, as soon as he arrived there ?

Ch. The E. of Strafford did, indeed, politically suspend that Tax ; but he, at the same Time, managed Matters so artfully with the Irish Papists, by Compositions, Contributions, and other Means, that he had good Reason

* Borlace Red. of Ireland.

† Sermon on the 23d

Oct. 1733, p. 18.

§ Sir Edw. Walker’s Obser. on

the Annals of Hammon L’Estrange, fol. 338.

‡ Bor-

lace Red. of Ireland.

|| Ibid,

Reason to boast * “ That he did more towards a Reformation, so far as a pecuniary Muleſt can effect it, than any that went before him.” In ſhort, he ſo grievouſly oppreſſed that People every way, that the † E. of Holland, one of the Privy Council in England, could not conceal his Fears in the Year 1636. “ That his Lordſhip’s Severity might diſpoſe them to call the Iriſh Regiments out of Flanders to their Aſſiſtance.” And the E. of Strafford himſelf § gives us to underſtand, that he was threatened, and not unapprehenſive of meeting, with a Felton, or a Raviliac among them. So ſcandalouſly falſe is that Affirmation of your noble Hiſtorian; “ That every degree of the Happineſs of the Iriſh was increaſed and improved, under the Government of K. Charles I.”

Diſſ. It ſeems then that the Seeds of that horrid Rebellion, which broke out in the Year 1641. were ſown at the Times you have mentioned, under the E. of Strafford’s oppreſſive Adminiſtration ?

Ch. So far from it, that I will demonſtrate to you, that his oppreſſive, and galling Adminiſtration did not at all leſſen the great Loyalty of the Iriſh Papiſts, even when continued to the Year 1639; for at that Time, when the breaking out of the Rebellion in Scotland occaſioned his Lordſhip to call another Parliament in Ireland, in order to raiſe new and large Subſides for his Majeſty, the || Natives in the H. of Commons, who were moſtly Iriſh Papiſts, gave the ſtrongeſt Proofs of an unparalell’d Affection and Loyalty to the King ‡ “ ſome of them having ſaid that his Majeſty ſhould have a Fee ſimple on their Eſtates on that occaſion: Others of them, with great Chearfulneſs, declared, that, to answer his Majeſty’s Occaſions, for the Honour of his Perſon, and ſafety of his Kingdoms, it was fit to be done, tho’ it were with
leaving

* Earl of Strafford’s State Letters, Vol. 1. fol. 174.

† Id. ibid. § Id. ibid.

|| Theſe are the Words of a Letter written by ſuch of the Privy Council in Ireland, as were Members of that Parliament. ‡ See that Letter at large in 2d vol. of Strafford’s State Letters, fol. 397.

leaving themselves nothing beside Hose and Doublet: That their Hearts contained Mines of Subsidies for his Majesty, &c.—And these Declarations were unanimously assented to by the whole House, there being found therein not one Negative Voice; and all this was concluded with general Acclamations, and signs of Joy and Contentment, even to the throwing up of their Hatts, and lifting up of their Hands, &c.” And the E. of Strafford himself, in his Letter to the Marq. of Hamilton, on this Subject, says, * “It is not to be believed, what a forwardness there is in this People to serve on this Occasion; and certainly they will sell themselves to the last Farthing, before they deny any thing, which can be asked of them in order to that.”

Diff. How happen'd it then, that, in about two Years after, these same, so exceedingly loyal Natives, broke out into that horrid Rebellion?

Ch. After what I have related to you, it is not natural to think, that their rising in Rebellion so soon after, was the Effect of any settled Disaffection in them to his Majesty's Person or Government; but it is very evident, that it was entirely owing to a Continuation, and increase of the Grievances, already mentioned, and to their just Apprehensions of others still greater, with which they were threatened; and as these Grievances and Apprehensions, must have been always very affecting to that People, they certainly became much more so, at that Juncture, when they were considered by them, as the only Recompence they were to expect for their late, transcendant Loyalty and Affection to the Crown of England. And this is apparent from the Examination of Owen O Connolly himself, who was the first that discovered this Conspiracy to the Lords Justices, and Council in Ireland: For he therein swears, that the Irish Rebels † “Declared (on that occasion) that they

* Id. ib. Vol. 2. fol. 402.

† Temple's Hist. of the Irish Rebel. It appears from several Queries of a Committee of the Irish House of Commons in the Summer of 1641, that the Irish then laboured

they did owe their Allegiance to the King, and would pay him all his Rights; but that they did this (Rise) for the Tyrannical Government was over them."

Diff. Can you produce me a proof of the Grounds of those Apprehensions, which you say the Irish had of further Grievances from the then Government of England or Ireland?

Ch. § Mr. Howell, the King's Historiographer, mentioning the Causes of, and Incentives to, this Rebellion, alledges, that "The Irish understanding with what Acrimony the Roman Catholicks in England were proceeded against, since the sitting of the English Parliament, and what further designs were on foot against them, &c. thought it high time for them to forecast what should become of them, &c. when a new Deputy of the Parliament's Election, Approbation at least, should come over; and this, adds he, was another Motive, (and indeed it was a shrewd one) which push'd on the Irish to take up Arms:" And † Dr. Maxwell, afterwards Bp. of Kilmore, "Deposes, that he had asked many both of the Irish Commanders, and Fryars, what chiefly moved them to take up Arms, and that they said (among other things) that they were certainly informed, that the Parliament of England had a Plot to bring them all to Church, or to cut off all the Papists in the King's Dominions." Diff.

laboured under many insupportable Grievances, of which the following are only a few, viz. "Jurors, upon many occasions, that gave verdict according to their Consciences were censured in the Castle-chamber in great Fines, some times pillor'd with the loss of Ears, and bored thro' the Tongue, and some times mark'd in the Forehead with a hot Iron.—Quo-Warrantos were issued out of the King's-Bench and Exchequer against Borroughs, which antiently and recently, sent Members to Parliament.—The Testimony of Thieves protected, and other infamous Persons, was taken against their Lives and Liberties, &c. &c." See Borlace's History of the Irish Rebellion.

§ Mer. Hiber. Anno 1643.

† His Exam. Apend, to Borlace's Hist. of the Irish Rebel,

Diff. These Testimonies prove only that the Irish, at that time, had such Apprehensions; but not at all, that there were any just Grounds for them?

Ch. Will you not allow, that there are just Grounds for apprehending a Danger, with which People are apparently threatened by those, who are much more powerful than themselves.

Diff. I will?

Ch. Well then, that such was the Case of the Irish Papists, at that Time, I will prove from the Words of the Royal Martyr himself, who surely ought to be supposed the most knowing, and impartial Judge of this Matter. These Words are, “ § Certainly 'tis thought by many wise Men that the preposterous Rigor, and unreasonable Severity, which some Men carry'd before them in England, was not the least Incentive that kindled, and blew into horrid Flames the Sparks of Discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed Fuel. of Rebellion in Ireland; where Despair being added to their former Discontents, and the Fears of utter Extirpation to their wonted Oppressions, it was easy to provoke
E them

§ Eck. Basilic. “ Both Houses of the English Parliament, says the E. of Castlehaven, were solicited by several Petitions out of Ireland to have the Roman Catholics of that Kingdom treated with the like Rigor (as those in England then were) which to a People so fond of their Religion as the Irish, was no small Inducement to make them, while there was an Opportunity offered, to stand on their guard,” Mem. p. 12. And in an Extract of the brief Narrative, addressed by P. Walsh to the D. of Ormond in 1664, we find these Words, “ The whole World may be pleased to know, &c. that before the Irish fell from their Obedience to the Government, Sir Wm. Parsons, one of the Lords Justice, at a publick Entertainment, before many Witnesses, did positively declare that within a Twelve-month no Catholick should be seen in Ireland. Many Hands were sought, and thousands were found to subscribe a Petition, tending to introduce a severe Persecution against Catholics.” P. W. Rep y to a Person of Quality, p. 7.

them to open Rebellion, &c. both to exempt themselves from their present Restraint, and prevent those after Rigors wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatened by the Covetous Zeal, and uncharitable Fury of some Men; who think it a great Argument of the Truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own."

Diff. But what Provocation can, any way, justify the incredibly numerous, and inhuman Massacres, that were perpetrated by the Irish Papists on the British Protestants, in the very beginning of this Rebellion?

Ch. I readily grant that no Provocation could have any way justify'd, or excused such Massacres, as you would suppose to have been perpetrated, on the British Protestants by the Irish Papists, in the beginning of this Rebellion; but I absolutely deny your Supposition, that such Massacres were then perpetrated on the British Protestants by the Irish Papists.

Diff. The E. of Clarendon, who is, you know, the most moderate of all our Writers upon this Subject, expressly says, " That on the 23^d of October, 1641. a Rebellion broke out in all parts of Ireland, except Dublin, where the Design of it was miraculously discovered the Night before it was to be executed, &c. but that, in the other parts of the Kingdom, they observed the Time appointed, not hearing of the Misfortune of their Friends at Dublin, &c. That a general Insurrection of the Irish spread it self over the whole Country, in such an inhuman, and barbarous Manner, that there were \$ 40 or 50,000

* Hist. of the Rebellion in England.

§ The surprising Difference and Inconsistency of the Accounts given us of these Murders by the Enemies of the Irish Papists, is no inconsiderable Proof of the falshood of that Imputation. Sir Wm. Petit, Surveyor-General of Ireland, soon after that Period, says, " That after the closest Scrutiny, there were not above 36,000 Kill'd on both Sides, in the Field, and in Cold Blood, during the whole Time of the War." And I have seen a Manuscript, written about the Year 1667, which says, that

50,000 Protestants murdered before they suspected themselves in any Danger, or could provide for their Defence, by drawing together into Towns, or strong Houses."

Ch. Will you give me leave to ask you a few Questions concerning this Assertion of the E. of Clarendon, before I give you my Answer as to the matters of Fact contained in it?

Diff. With all my Heart, Sir.

Ch. Well then, suppose I prove to you, from unquestionable Records, which were generally known in the E. of Clarendon's time, that this Rebellion (so far from breaking out on the 23d of October, 1641, in all Parts of Ireland, except Dublin, as his Lordship affirms) was then, and for some time after, confined to some parts of the Province of Ulster only, will you not allow, that his Lordship hath so far affirmed, and endeavoured to propagate, a most shameful, and injurious Falshood?

Diff. I will,

Ch. And if I shall thereby prove, that fewer, by three Parts in four of the Irish did rise on the 23d of October, 1641, than what his Lordship reports, may I not fairly conclude, that, at least, one half of the Murders he hath lay'd to their Charge were never committed by them?

Diff. I believe you may.

Ch. Certainly, after a Writer has been convicted of so notorious an untruth, and Calumny, with respect to three whole Provinces of a Kingdom, which consists only of four, the revolting or quietness of which must be publickly known, we may well suppose, without the least breach of Charity, that he hath prevaricated much

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more

that 400 English could not be found murdered, during the whole Time of this Rebellion, "As appeareth, adds the Author, by the Proceedings, and the Records of the usurped Powers still extant in Dublin, and their severe Enquiry, and High Court of Justice." They, who have an Opportunity (which I have not had) of consulting these Records, may soon satisfy themselves, as to this particular,

more egregiously with regard to the number of Persons murdered in that Revolt, the Knowledge of which is, on many Accounts, so very hard to be come at.

Diff. But I long to hear your Proofs, from unquestionable Records, as you call them, that this Rebellion, on the 23d of October, 1641, and for some Time after, was not general in all parts of Ireland, except Dublin, but confined to some Part of the Province of Ulster only.

Ch. I am now ready to produce that Proof to you; and this it is—The then Lords Justices of Ireland, Sir Wm. Parsons, and Sir John Borlace, in a Proclamation published by them on the 29th of October, 1641, explaining what they had too generally set forth in a former Proclamation concerning the Irish Papists, engaged in the Beginning of this Rebellion, * “ Declare and publish to all his Majesty’s good Subjects, that, by the Words, Irish Papists (mentioned without Distinction in the former Proclamation) they intended only such of the old, mere Irish, in the Province of Ulster, as had plotted, contrived, and been Actors in that Treason, and others, who adhered to them.” And that this Rebellion was not then general (even in the Opinion of these Lords Justices) and spread over the whole Country, nor did begin to be general till the 14th of Dec. following, evidently appears by their Letter, of that Date, to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, then in England, wherein we find these Words concerning it, “ And the Fire which was first kindled in Ulster, and lay a while smothered in other Parts, begins now to break out generally.” As for the intermediate Month of November, we learn that all Things were quiet in the two large Provinces of Connaught and Munster on the 14th thereof, from a Passage in the Journal of the House of Lords

* See Temple’s Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.

§ These Lords Justices in their Commission sent down to Ulster, and dated the 23d of Dec. 1641, only say, “ Whereas divers wicked, and disloyal People have lately risen in Arms in several Parts of this Kingdom, and have robbed, and spoiled, &c. Temple’s Hist. p. 137.

Lords in England to this purpose, " Next a Letter was read written to the Lord Chamberlain, dated the 14th of Nov. 1641, from Ireland, the principal particulars of which were these ; that the Town of Galway in Ireland is well fortified, and in Command of Mr. Willoughby ; that the Province (Connaught) wherein his Lordship (Clanrickard) is, doth utterly dislike the Proceedings of the Rebels——That the whole Province of Munster is yet quiet."

Diff. But, if this Rebellion was not then, general in all, or, at least, most Parts of Ireland (except Dublin) and if the Irish Papists in the other Parts did not observe the Time appointed. (viz. the 23d of October, 1641.) as Clarendon says they did, how happened it that so many " Thousands of English Protestants were surprized, and murdered (as they certainly were) before they suspected themselves in any Danger, or could provide for their safety, by drawing together into Towns and strong Houses,"

Ch. That this Rebellion was not general, But confined to some Parts of Ulster only on the 23d of Octob. 1641. I have given you unquestionable Proof, if you will allow the Proclamation, and Letter of the then Lords Justices of Ireland to be such ; but it seems, that the E. of Clarendon, thought it necessary to advance the first Falshood, concerning the generality of this Rebellion, in order to give some colour of Truth to the second, viz. The incredible Number of Murders, which, he says, were committed by the Irish at the Beginning of it.

Diff. Perhaps you will not allow that any considerable number of Protestants was murdered at the first breaking out of this Rebellion ?

Ch. After a careful Perusal of our own best Writers on this Subject, I don't see any Reason that should induce me to think there was — for † Sir John Temple himself confesses (and it is a most wonderful Confession from him) that, " The Irish (in Ulster) at the very first, for some few Days after their breaking out, did

not, in most places, murder many English; but the Course they took (says he) was to seize upon all their Goods and Cattle" — † and in all the Examinations, that have been published concerning the Murders committed, during this Rebellion, I find no mention made of any that was perpetrated by the Irish on the English on the 23d of Octob. 1641, or for some time after; except that of five Persons, who are not placed under any Date, but are only in general, said to have been murdered soon after the Rebellion; and sure that Day was so sadly remarkable, that whatever Mi chiefs were done on it, could not have been forgotten.

Diff. That, I must own, is somewhat strange?

Ch. Nay, there is the strongest, presumptive Proof, that, I think, can be had of any thing, that no Murders at all, at least none considerable, were committed by the Irish at their first breaking out.

D. If. I let us hear that Proof?

Ch. The Lords Justices, and Council, already mentioned, in † their Letter of the 25th of Octob. 1641. to the Lord Lieutenant in England (giving his Lordship an account of this Rebellion, which they had received from Persons of Quality, and Rank in Ulster) take notice indeed, "That the Irish had burned, and plundered the Houses of the English there, at their first setting out," but write not a Word of their having murdered a single Person; altho' they give us to understand, in that Letter, that even in the County of Monaghan where || (say these Lords Justices and Council) "These Fires did first break out," and consequently should have raged with greatest Fury these Rebels then had the "Lord Blarey's Wife, Children, and Servants in their power; as I knew several other Families; a Plantation of English; and the Inhabitants, and Garrison, of the Town of Newry." And what puts it out of all Doubt, that these Lords Justices and Council had heard of no Murders committed by the Irish (and therefore that no Murders had been then committed by them) they expressly § add,

"And

† See the Exam. in Temple and Boscage. ‡ See
 Temple's Hist. of the Irish Rebel. || Ibid. § Ibid.

“ And this plundering and burning of Houses) tho’ too much, is all we yet hear is done by them.”

Diff. But is it not possible, that the Irish might have then committed many inhuman Murders in Ulster, which these Lords Justices and Council, residing in Dublin, might not have heard of, so soon after as the Date of that Letter ?

Ch. The possibility of the Thing I will not dispute ; but surely you will grant it to be highly improbable, that the L. Blaney, Sir Ar. Terringham, and others, who were upon the Spot, at the Time and Place, wherein this Rebellion first broke out, and who communicated the first Account of it to the Lords Justices, and Council, would have omitted the most interesting, and affecting Part of it, the murdering of so many thousands of Protestants, by the Rebels at their first rising out ; or that they could possibly have been ignorant of these Murders, if any such had been committed.

Diff. I confess, it is highly improbable, that either of these two things should have happened ?

Ch. But I must put another Question to you on this Occasion, which is, whether you can suppose it possible, that these Lords Justices and Council should not have heard of these Murders on the 23d of Dec. following, especially since the modest, and veracious Sir J. Temple, and his great Encomiast, and Copyer, † the Bp. of Dromore, roundly assert, that, in the two first Months of this Rebellion (which space of time the Date above-mentioned exactly contains) “ More than 150,000 Protestants were massacred in cold Blood ; and that the most cruel, as well as the most frequent, of these Massacres were committed in Ulster.”

Diff. Without Doubt, ’tis impossible they should not have heard of these Murders long before the 23d of December, following.

Ch. And, if they had heard of them, at that Time, is it reasonable to believe, that in those Commissions,

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which

* See Temple’s Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.

† Appendix to his Sermon on the 23d of October, 1733. Christ Church, Dublin.

which they then sent down under the great Seal of Ireland, to some Gentleman in Ulster, and other Parts of the Kingdom authorizing them * to call upon all those, who had suffered by this Rebellion, as also on all the Witnesses of these Sufferings, to give in Examinations of the nature of them, and of every Circumstance relating to them ; particularly therein mentioning, Plunder, Robbery, Treasonable Actions, and even Speeches, and Words : Is it reasonable, I say, to believe, that these Lords Justices, and Council, would not, at the same Time, have given Power, in these Commissions to such Gentlemen, to take Cognizance of Murders too ; if even the thousandth Part of those execrable Massacres had been then committed by the Irish on the English, which we are now told of ?

Diff. As I am fully perswaded that these Lords Justices and Council, deemed those execrable Massacres by far more heinous Crimes, and consequently more worthy of Punishment, than treasonable Speeches, and Words, I cannot think they would have sent down a Commission empowering Gentlemen to take Examinations about the latter, without making particular Mention of, and giving a special Charge concerning, the former ; if indeed any such Massacres had been committed at the Time of sending down that Commission.

Ch. But that in these Commissions, dated the 23d of Decem. 1641, and sent down to Ulster, and other Parts, under the great Seal of Ireland, by the Lords Justices and Council, (wherein special Power is given to make Enquiries into, and take Examinations concerning, all the above Particulars) not a Syllable is mentioned of Murder, you will find by reading the Commission itself, as you have it at large in Sir John Temple's History of this Rebellion, p. 137, 138.

Diff. But you will find in that History, that, in virtue of those Commissions sent down to Ulster, and other Parts of Ireland, Examinations were afterwards taken concerning Murders, as well as concerning Plunder, Robbery, Treasonable Actions, Speeches and Words.

Ch. I

* See Temple's History.

Ch. I have already told you, that it does not appear from any of these Examinations, as they have been since published, that any Murders at all were committed by the Irish on the English at the first breaking out of this Rebellion ; and whether or no these Examinations may be deemed competent Proofs of the Murders, which they set forth to have been perpetrated in the Progress of it, we shall hereafter examine—

Diff. But you will allow, I hope, that this Rebellion, soon after, became general among all the Popish Natives of that Kingdom.

Ch. It did indeed soon after become too general, but not among all the Popish Natives of the Kingdom ; and that its becoming so was owing to the same Cause, (the Tyranny of the Lords Justices) which, I have already proved, at first gave it Birth, Clarendon himself seems plainly to confess.

Diff. Pray how does he seem to confess it ?

Ch. In these Words. * “ Many Persons of Honour, says he, among the Irish Catholicks, had always given signal Proofs of their Duty, and Affection to the King—others of them were, by the Passion and Rigor of those who were then in Authority, and had Power enough to destroy, whom they had Inclination enough to Suspect, or accuse,—driven to put themselves into the Protection of those, whose Ways, and Courses they totally disapprov’d.” And the Royal Martyr himself testifyeth, in his 1st. Basilic. That those Persons, then in Authority in Ireland, “ Exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate Resolutions, and Actions, by threatening all Extremities, not only to the known Heads, and Chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole Community of the Nation, resolving to destroy Root and Branch, Men, Women and Children, without any regard to the usual Pleas of Mercy, which Conquerors, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own Breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive Fears, rather than Malice engaged, &c.”

Diff. Can you produce me any Instance of such Tyranny in the Persons, then in Authority, in Ireland?

Ch. I can produce you several, in their Civil, as well as Military, Administration; but I will confine my self, at present, to a few Instances of their Arbitrary, and Tyrannical Proceedings in the former Respect, tending rather to foment, and increase, than Suppress this Rebellion; as first, their peremptory, and abruptly dissolving the * Parliament, which met in Novemb. 1641. in the Castle at Dublin, in order to put a stop to this Rebellion, after both Houses had unanimously agreed upon a most dutiful, and loyal Resolution, wherein they set forth their utter Abhorrence, and Detestation of it, and their solemn Protestation, that, if necessary, † they would take up Arms, and with their Lives, and Fortunes, endeavour to suppress it. Secondly, § tho' his Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament in England, had at the Beginning of this Rebellion, recommended it to these Lords Justices to bestow his Majesty's gracious Pardon to all such, without Distinction, as would, within a convenient Time, return to their Obedience, Yet, these Lords Justices did, by their || Proclamation, published

136 * " This Parliament, tho' surrounded with armed Men, was suffered to sit but two Days. Temp. Hist. p. 123. But it seems, says the E. of Castlehaven, that this way of proceeding did not square with the Lords Justices Designs, who were often heard to say, That the more there were in Rebellion, the more Land should be forfeited to them, and therefore in the very heat of the Business they resolved upon a Prorogation; which the Parliament understanding, the L. Costello, and Myself, were sent from the Lord's House, and others from the H. of Commons, to the Lords Justices, to desire the continuance of the Parliament, at least, till the Rebels, then few in Number, were reduced; but our Address was slighted, and the Parliament prorogued to the general Surprise of both Houses, and the great Dislike of all honest knowing Men.

† See Borlace's Hist.

§ See the same, Fol. 56.

|| See the same, Fol. 46.

1st Nov. 1641, limit such his Majesty's, and the Parliament of England's favourable, and general Intentions to the Inhabitants of a few Counties only, (viz. Meath, Westmeath, Lowth, and Longford) Provided always they were no Freeholders, which sort of Men were, to be sure, no more criminal than the Rest, but because they had Estates to lose.

Diff. So _____

Ch. Thirdly. In order to make these Freeholders still more desperate, and to deprive them of all hopes of ever afterwards reconciling themselves to the Government, these Lords Justices soon after broke the publick Faith with such of them as were near Dublin; * for altho' they had published a Proclamation on the 13th of Dec. 1641, commanding some of them, (who had been frightened from their Dwellings by a Massacre committed at Santry by the exprefs order of these Lords Justices) to appear before them in Dublin on the 18th of said Month, thereby " Giving them the word of the state, that they might then securely, and safely repair thither;" these Lords Justices, I say, notwithstanding this Proclamation, did, on the 15th of said Month, † send out Sir Char. Coote with some Forces to Clontarf, a Village belonging to Mr. King (one of the Chief of those Gentlemen, to whom the Word of the State, before mentioned, had been given) which Forces " Burn'd that Village, and § excellently well (says Borlace) quitted the Service enjoyed them." Diff.

* See the same, Fol. 60. † See the same, Fol. 62.

§ Sir Charles, besides plundering, and burning this Town, at that Time, did Massacre 16 of the Towns-People, Men and Women, besides three sucking Infants, and in the very same Week 56 Men, Women and Children, of the Village of Bulloge, being frightened at what was done at Clontarf, took Boats, and went to Sea to shun the Fury of a Party of Soldiers, that were come out of Dublin under the command of Col. Crafford; but, being pursued by the Soldiers in other Boats, they were over-taken, and thrown over board. Appen. to Clar. Hist. of the Irish Rebel. London printed by Wilford, 1720.

Diff. Does not Sir J. Temple tell you, that these Lords Justices had great Provocation given them to send out, these Forces to destroy Clontarf, before the Expiration of the Time that was allowed these Gentlemen to appear before them in Dublin?

Ch. Sir J. Temple himself, tho' a Member of that Privy Council, which, in Conjunction with these Lords Justices, authorized, and commanded, the sending out of these Forces to Clontarf, does not accuse these Gentlemen, to whom the Word of the State had been given, of having done any thing, in that Interval of Time, contrary to their Allegiance: He * alledges indeed, that "Some of their Followers had seized a Bark lying there, and carried away all the Commodities they found in her, a great part whereof, says he, they had put into the Dwelling House of Mr. King;" but he takes care not to tell us the precise Time, in which this happened, whether before, or after the Word of the State had been given to these Gentlemen: But let this Accident have happened when you will; and supposing the Story true (for which, however, you have only Sir John's Word, which is that of a Party, excusing his own cruel, and perfidious Act) will you, or will any Man, say, that Gentlemen were to be treated thus barbarously, and contrary to the publick Faith given them, because some of their Followers had, in their Absence, committed an Act of Injustice, in which they themselves, are not even accused of having had any part?

Diff. I must confess I know not how to vindicate such Conduct of the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland.

Ch. And, to exasperate these Gentlemen still more, they, by their foul Misrepresentations, sent into England, of the Actions, and Dispositions of the Irish, were the cause, that both Houses of Parliament there (to whom the entire Management of this War had been entrusted by the King) had † on the 8th of Dec. 1641, resolved upon a solemn Debate, that they never would consent to any Toleration of the Popish Religion in Ireland

* Irish Rebellion.
Rebellion, Fol. 52.

† Borlase's Hist. of the Irish

land. † About this time ; the L. Dillon of Costelloe, carrying a Remonstrance of the Grievances of the Irish to the King, was arrested in England by order of that Parliament, and had all his Papers rifled. § On the 21st of March, 1641, the Lords of the Pale, who had been driven, by the Rigor, and Passion of these Lords Justices, to put themselves under the Protection of those Rebels, sent a Letter to the Government, by the E. of Castlehaven, humbly setting forth their Grievances, and their Willingness to submit ; but they were scornfully, and insultingly, rejected by them: And, entirely to compleat the Despair of the Irish, and to force the very meanest, (as they had before done the better sort) of them into Rebellion, for the Preservation of their Lives, ‡ these Lords Justices published a Proclamation on the 10th of June, 1642, revoking and annulling all the Protections that had been granted by them to all, and every of the poor, inoffensive labouring People, within the Baronies of Castleknock, Nelher-Cross, Balrothery, and Coolock, in the County of Dublin ; and within the Baronies of Duleek, Skryne, Moyfenragh, Ratoath, Deece, and Donboyne in the County of Meath, on a groundless Pretence, that “ Many, or most of these poor People, had abused those Protections ; and then took Occasion || (from the Cruelties, which their own inhuman

† Id. ib. fol. 54 Sir John Read, a Scotchman, and one of his Majesty's Servants, preparing to go to England on the same Errand, was stopp'd by the Marq. of Ormond, and sent to the Lords Justices ; and, not concealing what he carry'd, was by them imprisoned, and soon after put to the Rack. Castlehaven's Mem. p. 38.

§ Bor Hist. of the Irish Rebel. and Cast. Mem.

‡ Borlace's History of the Irish Rebellion.

|| “ All this while, says the E. of Castlehaven, Parties were sent out by the Lords Justices. and Council from Dublin, and most Garrisons throughout the Kingdom to kill and destroy the Rebels ; but the Officers and Soldiers took little or no care to distinguish between Rebel and Subjects, but killed in many places promiscu-

ously

inhuman Treatment of them, had provoked, and exasperated (some of the Irish to retaliate on the English) to * forbid any Quarter to be given to them ; and used all Means to incence the Soldiers against the Nation in general."

Diff. Such Proceedings of the Government of Ireland did not, indeed, shew any Purpose, or desire in them to put a stop to this Rebellion.

Ch. In order to put it out of all Doubt, that that Government was desirous, and industrious to continue and foment, rather than suppress this Rebellion, let me only observe to you, that, when in the Year 1643, the Marquis of Ormond had, by the King's Command, proposed a Cessation to these Rebels (which they most readily, and dutifully, submitted unto) all Overtures towards it in the Marquis, and his Friends, were greatly disliked by the Persons then in Power in that Government, " And † a more unpleasing and unpopular Inclination, says Clarendon, could not be discovered in any Man, than a Wish or Consent that the War (from which so many promised Revenge ‡ and Fortunes) should be,

ously Men, Women and Children. Which procedure not only exasperated the Rebels, and induced them to commit the like Cruelties on the English, but frightened the Nobility and Gentry round about them, who seeing harmless Country People without respect to Age or Sex thus barbarously murdered, and themselves openly threatened, &c. resolved to stand on their Guard, Mem. p. 37, 38.

* Clar. Hist. of the Irish Rebel.

† Clar. History of the Irish Rebel.

‡ From the beginning of this Rebellion in Munster, to Aug. 1642. the E. of Cork had caused to be forfeited as many Estates of the Lords and Gentlemen of that Province alone, " As, says his Lordship, were at the beginning of this Insurrection, not of so little yearly value as 200,000 l. &c." His Lordship calls this " The Work of Works," Orrery's State Letters, Vol. 1. It is therefore no wonder that this noble Lord dy'd on the Day of the Cessation, " As being unwilling, says Borl. to survive what was not auspicious to the English, Red of Ire.

be, any other way, ended, than with the Blood and Confiscation of all, whom they could propose to be guilty of the Defection."

Diff. To what end did his Majesty conclude this Cessation with the Irish Rebels?

Ch. In order to bring over 10 000 of them to his Assistance in England, against his Parliament there, who had been for some time before, in actual Rebellion against him.

Diff. And had his Majesty so much Confidence in these Irish Rebels?

Ch. It is plain that he had; for he knew full well, as I have already proved from his own Words, and from incontestible Facts, that their rising in Rebellion, was not owing to any Disaffection in them to his Majesty, but (as the Examination of Owen O Connelly sets it forth) "To the Tyrannical Government that was over them."

Diff. And what did the English Parliament think of this Cessation?

Ch. They were so conscious that his Majesty's good Opinion of the Bravery, and Loyalty, of these late Irish Rebels, was well grounded, and so apprehensive that their coming to his Majesty's Assistance might prove destructive to their Designs against him, that † "They made an Ordinance on the 24th of Oct. 1644. upon the arrival of some of them in England) against giving any Quarter to any Irishman, or any Papist born in Ireland, taken in Hostility against the Parliament by Sea, or by Land." Nay the King himself, two Years after, endeavoured to escape from England to Ireland in Order to put himself into the Hands of the Irish Papists, because says || his Majesty, "All the rest I see despise me;" but to his own, and his People's great Misfortune, he was prevented by the Vigilance of the English Rebels, who then had him a Prisoner.

Diff. You have, I must own, fairly proved that the Irish Papists had cause to be uneasy under the then Government

† Borlace's Hist. of the Irish Rebel. Fol. 178.

|| King Charles's Works.

verment of Ireland, and that such uneasiness, instead of being removed, was industriously increased, for some time after, by the severity of that Government; but you will not, I hope, pretend to justify the Massacres which they had committed, during that Rebellion, or deny that they first began that horrible Tragedy?

Ch. I am far from pretending to justify those Cruelties (perpetrated by some of the Rabble of the Irish, during this Rebellion) which all the sober, and unbogot-
 ted Roman Catholics, then among them, and now among us, did, and do sincerely condemn and abhor. But I must insist upon it, that they neither began that Tragedy, nor committed a Murder, at that unhappy Juncture, that was not returned upon them. at least four fold.

Diff. These are very strange, and bold Assertions, Sir.

Ch. Nay more; it will appear, upon a fair Enquiry, that whatever Cruelties were committed on the English, by the Irish, during this Rebellion, were all perpetrated by an exasperated, and ungovernable Rabble, not only without, but absolutely against the Consent and Command of their Chiefs: Whereas those committed on the Irish by the English at that Time, were expressly ordered by Persons, who had a Right to command them, and by the Lords Justices themselves.

Diff. Can you give me any Proofs of what you thus positively advance?

Ch. Yes, I can give you many more, than I have leisure at present to * relate; and to omit even those Massacres of Santry, and Clontarf, already hinted at, which were committed by the express Orders of the Lords Justices, and Council (of the cruelty and Perfidy of which, I will leave you and all impartial Men, to judge, by the very Apology, which our own Writers make for them) I will just produce one Instance of this authoriz'd Barbarity of the English Soldiers, and refer you, for further conviction, to my general Proof, which you shall just now hear.

Diff. Well! let us have even that one Instance of authoriz'd Barbarity.

Ch.

* See the collection of Murders committed on the Irish in this Rebellion. London printed 1660.

Ch. Col. Mervyn * Touchet, who, thro' the whole course of this War, was employed in his Majesty's Service, tells us, that upon some of the Irish having kill'd and wounded some poor English, in the Passage near Rathcool, as he was conducting them to Dublin (the Colonel having before seiz'd some of the chief Commanders of that Rabble, and retaken a Booty from them) Sir Arthur Loftus, Governor of Naas, marched out with a Party of Horse, which was joined by another Party, sent from Dublin by the Marq. of Ormond, "and killed such of the Irish as they met. But the most considerable slaughter, adds the Colonel, was in a great strait of Firs, seated on a Hill, where the § People of several Villages, taking the Alarm, had sheltered themselves. Now Sir Arthur, having invested the Hill, set the Firs on Fire on all sides, where the People, being a considerable number, were all burn'd or kill'd. I saw, says he, the Bodies, and the Fire still burning."— And as for the beginning of this Tragedy, it hath been ever confidently averi'd by the Irish Papists (nor ever yet, that I have heard, disproved by their Adversaries) that the first considerable Massacre, on either side in Ulster, was that bloody one, which was committed in one Night in Nov. 1641. "† By the English, and Scotch Forces in the Territory of Carrickfergus, on above 3000 Catholicks, Men, Women and Children, Inhabitants thereof, all innocent Persons, and at a time when none of the Catholicks of that Country had appeared in Arms."

Diff. Have you not read what Dr. Borlace and Walter Harris, Esq; have written of that Massacre? Ch.

* Letter to the E. of Cast. See Mem. § "In the Year 1641-2. many thousands of the poor innocent People of the county of Dublin, shunning the Fury of the English Soldiers. fled into Thickets and Firs, which the Soldiers did usually fire, killing as many as endeavoured to escape, or forced them back again to be burn'd, and the rest of the Inhabitants, for the most part died of Famine." Appen. to Clar. Hist. of the Irish Rebel. London printed by Wilford, 1720.

† Collect. of Murders committed on the Irish, Append. to Clar. Hist. of the Irish Rebel.

Ch. * Borlace and † Harris, two most industrious Revivers, and Improvers, of all the exploded calumnies, that were ever heaped on the Irish Papists, on this occasion, do not deny the matter of Fact, viz. That this Massacre was perpetrated in Nov. 1641. on such a Number of innocent Catholicks in that Territory ; they only affirm (and that too without the least Proof) that it was not the first Massacre committed on either side ; “ but that it was done in Revenge for many Murders, that were before committed by the Irish on the Scotch in the North.”

Diff. And can you prove that it was not ?

Ch. The proof, that it was done in Revenge for many Murders, before committed by the Irish on the Scotch in the North, lies entirely upon them, because that is the only Excuse they pretend to make for it ; (as if, supposing their Assertion true, the Cruelties committed by the Irish on the Scotch in one part of a Province, could excuse the committing of such a Massacre by the English on the innocent Irish in another part :) But, if you recollect what I have already told you, concerning the Massacres said to have been perpetrated by the Irish on the English at the very beginning of this Rebellion, you will find it prov'd to a Demonstration, that no Murders, at least none worthy of the Government's Notice, had been committed by the Irish on either the Scotch or English, in Ulster, even on the 23^d of Dec. following !

Diff. Yet, cruel as that Massacre at Carrickfergus was, there are many, more cruel, and unprovok'd, related of the Irish.

Ch. In order to demonstrate to you, at one general view, without shocking either you or my self, by enumerating particular Acts of cruelty on either side, that (great as the clamour of the English has been, and still is, against the Irish on this Account) they were themselves conscious that the Cruelties, and Massacres, perpetrated by them on the Irish, far surpass'd those committed by the Irish on them, I shall only observe to you,

* Hist. of the Irish Rebel.
 Improvement of the Hist. of Ireland.

† Essay on the Im-

you, that, both early in this Rebellion, and soon after it was suppress'd, when these Transactions were notorious, and fresh in every one's Memory, the English in Power both here and in England, several times rejected the Proposals of the Irish Chiefs, That there might be a publick, and Parliamentary Enquiry made into the Massacres committed on both sides, and that the Authors of them might be punish'd according to Law: This, I say, the Enemies of the accused Irish Papists several times refused to consent to, tho' publickly, solemnly, and earnestly challenged thereto by them.

Diff. How, Sir, several Times refused?

Ch. Yes, Sir, several times—As first, they refused it when requested in the * Remonstrance of the Irish from Trim, in the Year 1642. presented by L. Vis. Gormanston, and Sir Robert Talbot. Secondly, they refused it in the Year 1643. when, after the Cessation, the Irish Agents at Oxford laid before his Majesty a Memorial, wherein after having petitioned that a free Parliament might be called in Ireland, they add, among other Things, “† Forasmuch as your Majesty's Catholic Subjects (of that Kingdom) have been taxed with many inhuman Cruelties, which they never committed, your Majesty's said Suppliants therefore, for their Vindication, and to manifest to all the World their Desire to have all such heinous Offences punish'd, and the Offenders brought to Justice, do desire that in the next Parliament, all notorious Murders, breaches of Quarter, and inhuman Cruelties, committed of either side, may be questioned in the said Parliament, if your Majesty should think fit, and such as shall appear to be guilty, to be excepted out of the said Act of Oblivion, and punished according to their Deserts.”

Diff. But does not Borlace inform you, that the Agents of the Government of Ireland, who were then likewise in England, did put in an Answer to that Memorial, and that to the Paragraph you have quoted out of it in particular, they said, “That it was but a
Flourish!

* See that Remonstrance. See Borl. Hist. Irish Rebel,
† Borl. Hist. Irish Rebel. Fol. 191.

Flourish!—That the Irish ought to have submitted to the Parliament then in being—and that the chief Delinquents, or their Confederates, would be so prevalent a Faction in the next Parliament, that they would be able, and doubtless, would clear all the Popish Party, how guilty soever, and condemn all the Protestants, how innocent soever?”

Ch. The humble Proposal of the Irish Agents, at that Time, to his Majesty was, first, that a * Free Parliament might be called, and afterwards, that a due Enquiry might be therein made into the Murders and Cruelties committed of either side, during this Rebellion; now how a Free Parliament should have a prevailing Faction in it, that would condemn the Innocent, and acquit the Guilty; or what other fairer Course could possibly be taken by any People to come at the Truth of this, or any other National Affair, is hard to be conceived. As for the Parliament, then in being in Ireland, it was notoriously (like that in England, with which it was in strict League) a prevailing Faction against the King; and indeed against all the Irish demanding this Enquiry; who by Attainders and Outlawries, were then entirely excluded from their Seats in both Houses. But what Excuse can you make for the Accusers of these Irish Papists having so often caused to be rejected the Petitions of these People to his Majesty and Council in England, to have these Murders enquired into, even after the Restoration? When these Papists were so far from being a prevailing Faction in the Parliament, which was called on the 8th of May, 1661, in Dublin, that there was but § “ One Roman Catholic in each House on the first Day of the Session;” and effectually to prevent the coming in of any more, and to turn out even these two, they made an order in the || House of Lords, that every Member thereof should receive the Sacrament from the Hands of their then Speaker, Primate Bramhal; “ and another, ‡ in the
Lower

* Id. ibid. Fol. 185. § E. of Orrery's State Let. V. 1. p. 35-36. || Borl. Red, of Ire. p. 265.
‡ Orrery's State Let. ubi supra.

Lower House, to administer the Oath of Supremacy to all it's Members."

Diff. But this was not done with a View to fix the imputation of these Massacres on the Irish, for I don't find that any such Matter was then brought before them.

Ch. It was done with that View, and with another, more profitable one, which they knew would result from it.

Diff. I don't understand you.

Ch. The Business of that Parliament, at least his Majesty's Intention in calling it, was the Settlement of Ireland; in order to which, it was proposed, that such of the Irish Papists (who had come in upon the Peace of 1648.) should be restored to their Estates, as his Majesty, and that Parliament seemed worthy of such Favour; out of which Number * those in particular were directly and expressly excluded by the Irish themselves, who were charged with, and convicted of, the committing, or encouraging any of these Murders. Now those English, who by the sole gift of Cromwell, and the Regicide Party, had been for some Years, possessed of these Estates of the Irish (and of whom both Houses of that Parliament were almost entirely composed) in order effectually to prevent their having such enquiry carried on (which they still earnestly desired) in a Parliamentary way; and to put it, as much as they could, out of their Power to wipe off those Calumnies, which they had fix'd upon them, and which they then most industriously spread in both Kingdoms, thereby to render them odious in the opinion of all good Men, and entirely unworthy of his Majesty's Grace and Favour; those English I say, at that Juncture, sitting in the Parliament of Ireland, took the Methods before-mentioned to exclude them, for ever, and all those of their Religion, from their Seats in both Houses; by which Means those poor People (whose Loyalty and strict adherence to his Majesty in his Exile † their greatest Enemies have witnessed to) were not only kept out of their Estates, but also had the

* See the Art. of the Peace of 1648.
State Letters.

† Orrery's

the Brand of Treason and Murder, more deeply imprinted upon them.

Diff. But, what say you to the numerous Depositions, given in upon Oath, to prove the Reality of these Murders, perpetrated by the Irish Papists on the British Protestants, during that Rebellion ?

Ch. I say, that those Depositions were the very things which these Irish Papists so often prest, and challenged, their Enemies to submit to a fair, and public Scrutiny ; and I must further say, that so honest, and so often repeated a challenge, could not have been declined by these Enemies, thro' any other Motive, but a Conscientiousness, that there was no Truth in them--besides, the Characters of those Authors, who first published them, are such, and the Passages related in them so manifestly incredible, that I am amazed every Protestant of sense is not ashamed to quote them.

Diff. Pray who are those Authors. whose Characters you are pleased to make so free with ?

Ch. The first, and principal, in Malice, as well as Time, were I think, Sir John Temple, and Dr. Edward Borlace ; of whom, the former, being a privy Councillor, and Master of the Rolls in Ireland, during that Rebellion, was so much interested in the Condemnation of the Irish, both in point of Fortune, and Character, that, that Consideration alone is sufficient to invalidate, or at least render suspicious, his own, and every other Testimony, he hath brought against them ; and as for the Latter, Dr. Nelson, has past this severe Censure upon him : § “ besides the nearness of his Relation to one of the Lords Justices (S. John Borlace, whose Son he was) and his being openly and avowedly a Favourer of the Faction, and of the Men, and Actions of these times (the English Rebels) he is an Author of such strange Inconsistency, that his Book, is rather a Paradox, than an History.”

Diff. But what are the Passages, sworn to in these Depositions, which you are pleased to call manifestly incredible ?

Ch.

Ch. Not to trouble you, or myself, with the Recital of many of those horrid Falshoods, which have been sworn to in these Depositions, as they have been communicated to us in Temple's and Borlace's lying, and infamous Legends, can any thing be more ridiculous, or incredible than the few following Passages, which we find in them? viz. " || that a Proctor to a Minister, altho' he was diversely wounded, his Belly ript up, and his Entrails taken out, and left above a yard from him, Bled not at all, untill he was removed? That † an Irish Rebel thrust thrice at a young Woman's naked Body, with a Sword drawn, and yet never pierced her Skin? and that ‡ hundreds of the Ghosts of the Protestants, that were drowned by Rebels at Portadown Bridge, were seen wandering about that place, and heard crying for Revenge "

Diff. And have these things been sworn to in those Depositions?

Ch. They have, and by pretended Eye Witnesses too---And now, pray tell me, since Passages, thus manifestly false, and incredible, have been solemnly sworn to, on this Occasion, by pretended Eye Witnesses, what are we to think of so many other Affidavits, in that History (which are by far the greater Number) taken on Hearsay, or private Belief only, and from the * lowest, and most prejudiced of the People?

Diff.

|| Temple's Hist. of the Irish Rebel. p. 88. † Id. ib. p. 124. ‡ Id. ib. p. 125.

* Some of these set only their Marks to their Examinations, and consequently swore whatever the Clerks or their Masters, were pleased to read to them. But of these Examinations in general, the Earl of Castlehaven positively affirms, That in them "hundreds are mentioned, as then murdered, that lived many years after. Nay some (adds his Lordship) even this Day (1684) alive, and that there were not the twentieth Part of the Cruelties (committed on the English) of what is generally reported. Mem. p. 28. 29.

The Author of the Collection of some of the Murders
comj

Diff. I shall be better prepared to answer that, and all your other Questions, when we meet next; but I must take the liberty to tell you, before we part, that you have to Day so zealously pleaded the Cause of the Rebellious Irish Papists, that I suspect you are not so good a Protestant at the Bottom, as I would have you to be.

Ch. I don't remember, that I have advanced a single Fact in this Controversy, that has not the Sanction of Protestant Authority to support it. And as for my own particular, as a Member of the Church of Ireland by Law Established. I think my self obliged to embrace Truth, wherever I find it; and not only to protest against the Errors of Papists, but those of Protestants too, especially such Errors as are injurious to others, even to Papists themselves.

Diff. But you must own, at least, that such Sentiments, as you have express'd, of this Affair, were never yet entertained (and I hope they never will be) by any modern Protestant Patriot.

Ch. To shew you how much you are mistaken in that

committed on the Irish, printed London 1662. averreth as a known Truth, " That at the Tryal of Qualifications, or † Court of Claims at Athlone, where the Book called the BLACK BOOK, which contained these Examinations, being produced, the same was so falsify'd in most particulars, as well by the Witnesses themselves, who were pretended to have been duly sworn, as also by the Persons said to have been murdered, who were then, and are yet (says my Author) living, that the said Book was, for Shame, laid aside, as no Evidence; and several Persons, who had taken Examinations, touching these Murders, have frequently since acknowledged the falsity of the Matters published by them, as being had from the Information of those, who, by the hurry of the Times, and their own frights, were so transported, that they swore all their Neighbours, whom they left behind them, were murdered, whereas all or most of them, were afterwards found living. Pref,

† In Cromwell's Time.

that particular, I shall conclude by giving you the Sentiments of one of the best, and wisest Protestant Patriots, on this occasion. that either this, or any other Nation, was ever blest with ; † “ Granting (says Dr. Swift) Popery to have many more Errors, than any other Branch of Sectaries ; let us examine the Actions of both, as they have each affected the peace of these Kingdoms, with allowance for the short Time which the Sectaries had to act in, who are in a Manner, but of Yesterday ; the Papists, in the Time of K. James II. used all Endeavours to establish their Superstition ; wherein they fail'd, by the united power of English Church Protestants, with the Prince of Orange's Assistance. But it cannot be asserted, that those biggoted Papists had the least Design to depose or murder their King, much less to abolish Kingly Government ; nor was it their Interest, or Inclination to attempt either.”

“ On the other side, the Puritans, who had almost from the beginning of Q. Elizabeth's Reign, been a perpetual Thorn in the Church's Side, joining with the Scotch Enthusiasts, in the Time of K. Charles II. were the principal Cause of the Irish Rebellion and Massacre, by distressing that Prince, and making it impossible for him to send over timely Succours. And, after that pious Prince had satisfied his Parliament in every single Point complained of, the same Sectaries, by poisoning the Minds and Affections of the People, with the most false and wicked Representations of their King, were able in the Compass of a few Years, to embroil the three Nations in a Bloody Rebellion, at the Expence of many thousand Lives ; to turn the kingly Power into Anarchy ; to murder their Prince in the Face of the World ; and (in their own Stile) to destroy the Church Root and Branch.”

The Account therefore stands thus. “ The Papists aimed at one pernicious Act, which was to destroy the Protestant Religion ; wherein, by God's Mercy, and the Assistance of our Glorious K. William, they absolutely

F

failed

† Queries relating to the Sacramental Test, written in 1732.

failed. The Sectaries attempted the three most Infernal Actions, that could possibly enter into the Hearts of Men, forsaken by God ; which were, the Murder of a most pious King, the Destruction of Monarchy, and the Extirpation of the Church ; and succeeded in them all."

Diff. Nothing can be more dangerous to this Kingdom, than the throwing out such invidious Reflections on any Set of Protestants in it, whereby that Union which ought ever to subsist among us, is apt to be destroyed ; and that Alarm lessened, which cannot be too great and lively in us, from the Strength and Number of our common Enemies, the Papists in Ireland.

Ch. As to the Number of Papists in Ireland, the same Great Patriot asserts, " § That it is always magnified, in proportion to the Zeal or Politicks of the Speaker, or Writer ; but it is a gross Imposition upon common Reason (adds he) to terrify us with their Strength For Popery, under the Circumstances it lies in this Kingdom, altho' it be offensive and inconvenient enough, &c. is not properly dangerous in that Sense, as some would have us take it ; because it is universally hated by every party of a different religious Profession. It is the contempt of the Wise, the best Topic for clamours of designing Men ; but the real Terror only of Fools. The landed popish Interest in England, far exceeds that among us, even in proportion to the Wealth, and Extent of each Kingdom. The little that remains here is daily dropping into protestant Hands, by purchase or descent ; and that affected Complaint of counterfeit Converts, will fall, with the Cause of it in half a Generation ; unless it be raised, or kept alive, as a continual Fund of Merit and Eloquence. The Papists are wholly disarmed. They have neither Courage, Leaders, Money, or Inclinations to rebel. They want every Advantage, which they formerly possessed, to follow that Trade, and wherein, even with these Advantages, they always miscarried. They appear very easy and satisfied under the Connivance which they enjoyed during the whole last

last Reign ; nor ever scrupled to reproach another ¶ party, under which they pretend to have suffered so much Severity." — Nay, Sir, do not knit your Brows so angrily at me ; the same excellent Writer goes further, and in another † place declares, " That the Papists in general, of any Substance or Estates, and their Priests, almost universally, are what we call Whigs, in the Sense, which by that Word is generally understood. They feel (says he) the Smart, and see the Scars, of their former Wounds ; and very well know, that they must be made a Sacrifice to the least Attempt towards a Change." — But I will here put an End to a Conversation, which I find so very displeasing to you. Farewel.

¶ The Tory Ministry in Q. Ann's Reign.

† Humble Address to both Houses of Parliament, written about the Year 1724.



Advertisement.

T HIS Dialogue was written during the late Rebellion in Scotland, in Vindication of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, against whom notwithstanding their quiet, and dutiful behaviour at that Juncture, and indeed ever since the Revolution) many false, and scurrilous Libels were then published,

In Justice therefore to that People, (whom, notwithstanding the difference of their Religion from mine, I shall ever regard as my Brethren, and Countrymen) I now venture to expose to publick View, the Behaviour of some of their Predecessors in that period of Time, which hath furnished most Matter of Invective against them, and herein, I flatter my self I shall be deemed, by all candid Persons, to have acted no other Part, but that of an Advocate for Truth and Mercy, in behalf of a set of Men, who have been so long, in the general, condemn'd without either.

And this I am the more inclined to hope, because I have, through this whole Controversy, quoted no other Writings in their Favour, but those of their greatest Enemies; whose Testimonies, tho' always to be suspected, when against them, are surely, when for them, highly credible, as being evidently extorted by the Force of Truth alone.

In the Year 1745.

A P P E N -

A P P E N D I X.

N U M B E R I.

IN Burnet's Life of Bp. Bedell, p. 142. &c. Dublin printed 1736. by Rhames for Gunn, we find these Words concerning the following Remonstrance: " These (Rebels) of the County of Cavan seem'd to see their Error, and apprehend their Danger ; so they came to Bp. Bedell as the fittest Man to interpose for them—The petition that they Sign'd, and sent up to the Lords Justices, and the Council; was too well penn'd, to come from those that set their Hands to it ; it was drawn by the Bishop, who put their matter into his own Words. Therefore I shall Insert it here, tho' it gives the best Colours to their Rebellion, of any of all their papers that ever I saw."

To the Right Honourable the

L O R D S J U S T I C E S and C O U N C I L.

The Humble Remonstrance of the Gentry, and Commonality of the County of Cavan, of their Grievances, common with other parts of the Kingdom of I R E - L A N D. *presented Nov. 1717. See Ind.*

WHereas we his Majesty's Loyal Subjects, of his Highness's Kingdom of Ireland, have of long Time Groaned under many grievous pressures, occasioned by the rigorous Government of such placed over Us, as respected more the Advancement of their own private Fortunes, than the Honour of his Majesty, or the Welfare of us his Subjects : whereof we, in humble manner, declared our selves to his Highness, by our Agents, sent from the Parliament, the Representative Body of this

Kingdom ; notwithstanding which, we find our selves of late threatened with far greater, and more grievous Vexations, either with Captivity of our Consciences, or losing our Lawful Liberties, or utter Extirpation from our Native Seats, without any just Grounds given, on our parts, to alter his Majesty's Goodness so long continued unto us ; of all which we find great Cause of Fears in the proceeding of our Neighbour Nations, and do see it already attempted upon by certain Petitioners for the like course to be taken in this Kingdom, for the effecting thereof in a Compulsory way ; so as Rumours have caused Fears of Invasion from other parts, to the dissolving the Bond of mutual Agreement, which hitherto hath been held inviolable between the several Subjects of this Kingdom, and whereby all other his Majesty's Dominions have been inlinked in One. For the preventing, therefore, of such Evils, growing upon Us in this Kingdom. We have, for the preservation of his Honour, and our own Liberties, thought fit to take into our Hands, for his Highness's Use and Service, such Forts, and other places of Strength, as, coming into the Possession of others, might prove a Disadvantageous, and tend, to the utter undoing of the Kingdom. And, We do hereby declare, that herein We harbour not the least Thought of Disloyalty towards his Majesty, or purpose any Hurt to his Highness's Subjects, in their Possessions, Goods or Liberties, only we desire that your Lordships will be pleased to make Remonstrance to his Majesty for us, of all our Grievances, and just Fears, that they may be removed ; and such a course settled by the Advice of the Parliament of Ireland, whereby the Liberty of our Consciences may be secured to Us, and we eased of our Burthens in Civil Government. As for the Mischiefs, and Inconveniencies, that have already happened, thro' the Disorder of the common sort of People against the English Inhabitants, or any other. We, with the Noblemen, and Gentlemen, and such others, of the several Counties of this Kingdom, are most willing and ready, to use our, and their best Endeavours in causing Restitution, and Satisfaction, to be made, as, in part, We have already done.

An Answer hercunto is most humbly desired, with such present Expedition, as may, by your Lordships, be thought most convenient for avoiding the Inconveniency of the Barbarousness, and Incivility of the Commonalty, who have committed many Outrages, without any Order, Consenting or privity of ours. All which we leave to your Lordships most grave Wisdom, and shall humbly pray.

Burnet adds (ib.) " But all this came to nothing." Altho' we learn from Borlace's History of this Rebellion, Fol. 47. that this Remonstrance was presented so early as the 6th of Nov. 1641.

N U M B E R II.

THE following is taken from the *Mercurius Hibernicus*, written in the Year 1643. by Dr. Howel, who was the King's Historiographer, a Protestant, and an Englishman: And whose account of the Rise, and Occasion of this Rebellion, cannot, therefore be suspected of any Partiality to the Irish.

" The Irish hearing, how well their next Neighbour (the Scots) had sped by way of Arms, it filled them full of Thoughts, and Apprehensions of Fear and Jealousy, that the Scot (than whom no Nation upon Earth is in that Perfection, and with greater Antipathy hated by the Irish) would prove more powerful hereby; and consequently more able to do them Hurt, and to attempt ways to restrain them of that connivance, which they were allowed in point of Religion.—Moreover they entered into consideration, that they also had sundry Grievances, and Grounds of Complaint, both touching their Estates and Consciences, which they pretended to be far greater than those of the Scots. For they fell to think, that if the Scot was suffered to introduce a New Religion, it was Reason they should not be punished in the Exercise of their Old, which they Glory never to have altered. And for Temporal matters, wherein the Scot had no Grievance at all to speak of, the new Plantations, which had been lately afoot, to be made in Connaught, and other places; the concealed Lands, and defective Titles, which were daily found out: The new

Customs, which were imposed: And the Incapacity they had to any Preferment or Office, in Church and State, with other Things, they conceived to be Grievances of a far greater Nature. and that deserved Redress much more than any the Scot had. To this end they sent over Commissioners to attend this Parliament in England with certain propositions; but they were dismissed hence with a short, and unsavory Answer: which bred worse Blood in the Nation, than was formerly gathered. And this, with that leading Case of the Scot, may be said to be the first Incitements that made them Rise.

—Add hereunto, that the Irish understanding, with what Acrimony the Roman Catholics in England were proceeded against since the sitting of our Parliament, and what further Designs were on Foot against them, and not only against them, but for transverſing the Protestant Religion, which some shallow-brained Schismatics throw into the same Scales with Popery, they thought it high time for them to forecast what should become of them, and how they should be handled in point of Conscience, when a new Deputy of the Parliament's Election, Approbation at least, should come over. Therefore they fell to consult of some means of timely prevention. And this was another motive, and it was a shrewd one, which pushed on the Irish to take up Arms.

—Out of these Premises, it is easy for any common Understanding, not transported with Passion, and private Interest, to draw this Conclusion; that they, who complied with the Scot in his Insurrection; they, who dismissed the Irish Commissioners with such a short unpolite Answer, &c. may be justly said to have been the true Causes of the late Insurrection of the Irish."

N U M B E R III.

TH E following is an Extract out of the Brief Narrative, printed and published by the Irish Papists in London, in 1660, and addressed by Peter Walsh in 1664. to the D. of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who was, almost from the beginning of this Rebellion, employ'd by his Majesty, to suppress it; being Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Army in that Kingdom.

Kingdom. As no Person could possibly be better acquainted, than his Excellency, with the motives, that stirred up the Irish to this Rebellion, so it cannot be supposed, that, if this Narrative was not strictly true, in every particular, it would ever have been addressed to him, by his Creature, and Dependent, Peter Walsh ; or at least, that said Walsh would have escaped his Grace's severest Censure for it ; which, however, 'tis plain, he did, by his Grace's continuing his Favour and Patronage, to him for many Years after.

———— Audi alteram Partem.

“ Before they (the Irish) fell from their Obedience, to the Government, Sir Wm. Parsons, one of the Lords Justices, at a public Entertainment, before many Witnesses, did positively declare, that within a Twelve-month, no Catholic should be seen in Ireland. Many Hands were sought, and thousands were found to Subscribe * a Petition, tending to the introducing of a severe Persecution against Catholics, who were the far greater number of the Inhabitants of Ireland ; and the Menace of an Invasion of § a Scottish Army, of which Men at that time did frequently discourse, bred frightful apprehensions. So as these, and other Grounds of Suspicion, being improved by such among them, whose particular Interests could be most favoured, and better advanced in unquiet Times, lay'd the Foundation of that Rebellion ; but even these Men, at that time, when the Lords Justices did not appear to be prepared for Resistance, by their Remonstrance, humbly beg'd their Grievances might be redressed, by the Advice of the two Houses of Parliament, then met at Dublin ; but the Lords Justices (who, by their Words and Actions, not only expressed their unwillingness to stop the further Growth of these Distempers, but meant to † increase them, and were often heard to wish that the Number were greater of such as became Criminal) by proroguing the Parliament, made them desperate. However, the

F 5

Nation,

* See Castlehav. Mem. § See Howell's Merc
Hibernic. Remonst. of the County of Cavan, &c.

† See Castlehav. mem.

Nation, by their Representatives, in the two Days, which were only allowed them to sit, Husbanded their time so, as to leave to posterity a * Monument of their Aversion to such Attempts, by declaring that those Men had Traiterously, and Rebelliously taken Arms; and offering to employ their Lives and Fortunes, in reducing them to their Obedience, if they might be permitted then to sit. But this was deny'd them: And by a strange change from the ancient Form of Government a Parliament then sitting was prorogued, whereas our Ancestors, upon a far less occasion than quietting so high Distempers, were usually called upon to Assist the King with their Advice. To this may be added, that the † Marq. of Ormond, proposed at the Council Board, the raising of 5000 Men in the space of three Weeks, if he might be authoriz'd to do so; with which Strength he undertook to dissipate those, then, weak beginnings of the ensuing mischiefs, and to prevent their farther Growth, but was refused it. So as thus far we may observe, who they were that widened the Wound, instead of Staunching the Blood.

This Foundation being then lay'd, that, which at first was but a spark, and might be easily quenched, began to Flame: And Freedom of Rapine having suddenly drawn Numbers together, the unrepressed Conspirators became a formidable Army, and besieged Tre-dah, passing the River Boyne, which was the Rubicon of the Pale, and had, in all former Rebellions, been maintained with their Blood, by those Ancient English Colonies planted there. Now it was that the Times began to favour the Design of the Lords Justices, and their party in the Council, which was as forward, as they, to Foment the Distractions. For the Ulster Army lying in the Bowels of the Country, the Forces being not yet come out of England, and the Natives themselves, both unarmed, and distrusted by the State, they were forced, at first, by their regular Contribution, to prevent the Desolation, which would have followed their

* Borl. Hist. of the Irish Rebel. † Afterwards Duke, to whom this Narrative was Addressed by Walsh in 1664.

their Refusal to fupply them. Hereupon fuch Contributors began to be looked upon, and chara^rtered, as Men fallen from the Government, § and a party that was fent from Dublin, having killed at Santry (but three miles diftant from thence) fome innocent Husbandmen, among whom there were two Proteftants, and carried their Heads, as in Triumph, to the City, the Neighbouring-Inhabitants, alarmed thereat, had recourse to fuch Weapons as firft came to Hand, and gathered in a Body. Whereupon the Lords Juftices fet forth a proclamation, in the nature of a || fafe Condu^{ct}; by which, thefe fo in Arms, and Mr. King of Clontarf by fpecial Name, had five Days refpite to come in, and prefent their Grievances. But before three Nights, of the time prefixed, were expired, Mr. King's † Houfe was pillaged, and burned by the dire^{ct}ion of the Lords Juftices. Not long after, fupplies being arrived out of England, and the Siege of Tredah raifed, and confequently the Force removed, which neceffitated the Inhabitants to comply with the Ulfter Army, the Nobility and Gentry of the Pale prevailed with Sir John Read (his Majefty's Sworn Servant, a ftranger to the Country, unengaged, and an Eye-Witnefs of their proceedings, then upon his Journey to England) to take the pains to prefent their Remonftrance to the late King, of ever bleffed Memory, and to beg pardon for what they were thus compelled to Act. But he, poor Gentleman, coming to Dublin, was apprehended, and not concealing the Message, intrusted with him, was put to the † Rack; the moft part of the Queftions then asked him in that Torment being no other, than fuch, as might lead him to accufe the King and Queen, to be Authors, and Fomentors of that Rebellion. Moreover, the two Houfes of Parliament in England, for the better inducing the Rebels to repent of thefe wicked Attempts, commended to the Lords Juftices, according to the power granted them in

that

§ See Temple's Apology for this Maſſacre, Hiſt. of the Irifh Rebel. || Borl. Hiſt. of the Irifh Rebel.

† See the ſame, and Temp. Hiſt. of the Irifh Rebellion. † See Caſtlehav. Mem.

that behalf, to bestow his Majesty's Gracious Pardon † to all such, as within a convenient time, &c. should return to their Obedience. But the Lords Justices (notwithstanding such Order, and his Majesty's Gracious Pleasure signified to that Effect) by their Proclamation, dated in Nov. 1641. § limited such his Majesty's, and the Parliament of England's favourable, and general Intentions, to the Inhabitants of a few Counties, provided always they were no Freeholders ; and afforded them no longer time than ten Days, after the Proclamation, to receive benefit thereby. But, notwithstanding these Restrictions, the L. of Dunfany, S. John Neterville, Pat. Barnwall, of Kilbrue, and many others, who had, notice of his Majesty's gracious Inclination towards the Nation, and the Parliament of England's order in favour of them, submitted to the L. Marquis of Ormond, then Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Army, who recommended them to the Lords Justices ; intimating, that the good Usage to be extended to them, would have an influence on many others, and be a great Motive to quiet the Distempers, which then began to spread. But the Lords Justices, whose Design was not to be carry'd on with Mercy and Indulgence, to prevent Submissions, Imprisoned, and Indicted, by a Jury, which did not consist of Freeholders, these so submitting, and put the said Mr. Barnwall, of the Age of 66 Years, to the ‡ Torture of the Rack. This notwithstanding, the Noblemen and Gentry, inhabiting the Country, next to Dublin, apply'd themselves humbly by their Letter to the Lords Justices ; which, when the R. of Castlehaven, a Nobleman of English Birth (who freely, before that time, had access to Dublin) came to present, he was made a Prisoner. Wherefore, when the Nation observed, that their Advice in Parliament was not only thought unnecessary, but themselves involved in a general Distrust,

That neither the Parliament's, nor the Marquis of Ormond's

† See Borl. and Temp. Hist. of the Irish Rebel.

§ See the same.

‡ Castlehav. Mem.

Ormond's offer to suppress the Rebellion, would be accepted.

That the enforced complying of the Nobility and Gentry of the Pale, with a powerful Army (which was Master of their Lives and Fortunes) was imputed to them as a malicious Aversion from the English Government.

That the Blood of innocent Husbandmen was drawn, and the Heads of Men were grown an acceptable Spectacle in Dublin.

That the public Faith was broken, and Men's Houses (particularly enabled to claim benefit by it) Pillaged and Burned.

That all ways were obstructed, by which they might implore his Majesty's Mercy, and represent their Conditions.

That the favourable Intentions of the Parliament of England, and his Majesty's gracious Pardon, which was meant should extend to all, save such as were guilty of Blood, was so limited by them, as no Eftated Men could receive Benefit by it,

That those, who, notwithstanding these Restrictions, cast themselves freely upon his Majesty's Mercy, were Imprisoned, Indicted, and one of them Rack'd.

That the † Earl of Castlehaven might have found it a Capital Crime to mediate in their behalf, if he had not made his Escape after twenty Weeks Imprisonment.

That the King's Sworn Servant was Racked ; and his Ministers, whose Duty it was to have been zealous for the Honour of their Master, endeavoured to asperse it, and to render him, and his Royal Consort, odious to his People, by striving to extort, from a Tortured Man, some Testimony, by which they might be accused of raising, and fomenting that Rebellion.

When these, and many other Arguments of this kind, which (least we should be to prolix) we omit, had convinced the Catholics of Ireland, that the Lords Justices, and that Part of the Council which adhered to them, became unfaithful to his Majesty, and had designed the
Ruin

† See the Particulars of his Escape, from the Castle of Dublin, in his Memoirs,

Ruin of that Nation, and the Extirpation of their Religion.

That Law, which moves the Hand by interposing it self, to bear off a stroke, aimed at the Head, convened an Assembly of those, who were exposed to such imminent Dangers, in which they modelled a Government, in order to their natural Defence, obliging themselves by such an Oath to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, as well shewed their Affection to the Crown, and their unalterable Resolutions, to maintain his Majesty's Rights, and follow his Fortune.

Between these divided Governments, there have been Battles Fought, Castles and Forts Besieged, and much Christian Blood spilt; which will one Day lye at some Men's Doors; and who these are, the Eternal Wisdom best knows, and the Reader is left free to determine,

N U M B E R I V.

TH E Protestant Editor of the following Collection (who betrays no small Enmity to the Irish Papists) in his Preface to Clarendon's History of the Irish Rebellion, London printed 1720, has the following Words concerning it: "who were the first Beginners of those barbarous Murders, and horrid Massacres, committed in that Kingdom, (Ireland) is easily determined by comparing the Accounts on both sides." Now I shall only desire the Reader to Mark the first Article of the ensuing Account, and to compare the whole with the other Account, which he will find printed with it in the Appendix of the aforesaid History; as also at the End of Borlace's History of this Rebellion.

The 9th and 10th, Acts agreed upon in the general Congregation of the Roman Catholics, held in Kilkenny, on the 10th, 11th, and 13th, Days of May 1642, relating to these Murders are as followeth.

Act the 9th. "Let a faithful Inventory be made in every Province of the Murders, Burnings, and other Cruelties, which are committed by the Puritan Enemies, with a Quotation of the Place, Day, Cause, Manner and Persons, and other Circumstances, Subscribed by one of public Authority."

At the 10th. " In every Parish, let a faithful, and Sworn Messenger be appointed, whereby such Cruelties, and other affairs may be written, and sent to the Neighbouring Places ; and likewise from one Province to another ; let such things be written for the Comfort, Instruction, and Carefulness of the People."

Borlace's History of the Irish Rebellion, fol. 123.

This Collection was first published in London, in the Year 1662. The Author's frequent, candid, and public Appeals to things openly transacted, and to † Enemies themselves, then living, and well known, is a strong proof that what he relates is real matter of Fact ; and there is yet a stronger inducement to think it so, because it has never yet been proved to be otherwise. : Nor, as far as I have learned, even attempted,

A Collection of some of the Massacres, and Murders committed on the Irish in Ireland, since the 23d of October 1641.

County of Antrim.

1641. **A**Bout the beginning of November, the English and Scotch Forces in Knockfergus, Murdered in one Night, all the Inhabitants of the Territory of the Island of Gee, to the Number of above 3000 Men, Women, and Children, all innocent Persons, at a time when none of the Catholics of that County were in Arms, or Rebellion. Note, this was the first Massacre committed in Ireland of either side.

Mr. Mac-Naghten, having built a small Fortress in the said County, to preserve himself, and his Followers from Out-rages, untill he understood what the Cause of the then Rebellion was ; as soon as Colonel Campbell ;
came

† Sir Audly Mervyn, Sir Robert Hannah (the Lady Mounrath's Father) several General, and other, Officers, then, and many years after, alive.

came near, with part of the Army, he sent to let him know, that he would come to him with his Party, which he did, and they were next Day murdered to the number of 80, by Sir John Clotworthy's, now Lord Mafareen's Soldiers.

About the same time, 100 poor Women, and Children, were Murdered in one Night, at a Place call'd Balliaghium, by Direction of the English, and Scotch Officers commanding that County.

County of Derry.

1641. Some 300 Men, Women and Children, of the Irish, having freely come under the Protection of the Garison of London-Derry, were strip'd, plunder'd, and kill'd by the said Garison.

1644. Mr. Maurice Mac-Daniel, natural Son of the late E. of Antrim, was Hang'd at Coleraine, by the Governour's Orders, notwithstanding he had Col. Michael Jones's Pass.

County of Down.

1641. The Burgeesses, and Inhabitants of the Town of Newry, meeting the English Army, on their March to Besiege the Castle of the said Town, were received into Protection; and, after Quarter given to the Garison of the said Castle, the said Inhabitants, and the Soldiers of the said Garison, to the Number of 500, and upwards, Men, Women, and Children, were brought on the Bridge of Newry, and thrown into the River, and such of them, as endeavour'd to Escape by swimming, were murdered.

County of Donegall.

1641. About the 20th of November, Sir William Steward commanded the Gentry, and Inhabitants of that County to joyn with his Forces in opposition to the Rebels, and accordingly they came to the place appointed, where Capt. Cunningham, with a Party of the said Sir William's Regiment, under pretence of incorporating with them; fell upon the Inhabitants with his Arm'd Soldiers, and kill'd very many of them; among whom
were

were Owen Mac-Sherney, Maurice O Farey, and Donagh O Callan, Gentlemen of Quality, and Estates.

About the same time Capt. Fleming, and other Officers of the said Regiment, commanding a Party, smothered to Death 220 Women and Children, in two Caves. And about the same time also, the said Capt. Cunningham, murdered about 63 Women and Children, in the Isles of Ross.

1641. The Governour of Letter-kenny, gathered together on a Sunday morning, 53 poor People, most of them Women, and Children, and caused them to be thrown off the Bridge into the River, and drowned them all.

1641. In November, one Reading murdered the Wife, and three Children of Shane O Morghy, in a place call'd Bally-kenny of Ramalton, and after her Death cut off her Breasts with his Sword.

1641, 1642. The Garisons of Rapho, Drömbo, Lifford, and Castle Raghaen, slaughtered no less than 1500 of the poor neighbouring Inhabitants, never in Arms, and three Persons were chiefly noted among them for their barbarous Cruelty, by name James Graham, Henry Dungan, and Robert Cunningham, commonly call'd, *The killer of Old Women*.

1641, 1642. About 2000 poor Labourers, Women and Children, of the Barony of Terhu, were Massacred by the Garisons of Ballashany, and Donégall, and Lieutenant Thomas Poe, an Officer among them, coming under colour of Friendship to visit a Neighbour that lay sick in his Bed, and to whom he owed Money, carry'd a naked Dagger under his Cloak, which (whilst he seem'd to bow towards the sick Man, in a friendly manner, asking how he did) he thrust it into his Body, and told his Wife her Husband should be no longer sick.

1650. In the Month of June, about 3000 Horse and Foot of his Majesty's Army, being defeated near Letter-kenny, by the English Rebels, adhering to Cromwell, most of the principal Officers of the said Party, taken Prisoners in the Battle, were kill'd in cold Blood, by order of Sir Charles Coote, late L. Mountrath, notwithstanding they had Quarter from the Officers who took them Prisoners

County

County of Monaghan.

1641. Capt. Townsly, Governor of Maghernecke, kill'd four Labourers, and a Woman, being under Protection. Capt. Bromwell, Governor of Clunes, meeting upon the Road with Marc Charles O Conolly, a Gentleman living under his Protection, caused him to be shot to Death. The Soldiers of the Garisons of Dundalk and Trim, kill'd no less than 500 Innocent Persons, Women and Children, in that County.

1641, 1642. The Armies of Montroe, and the Legan, in their several Marches through that County, slaughtered about 2000 poor Old Men, Women and Children.

1652. Col. Barrow of Cromwell's Army, having taken an Island defended by Lieutenant Col. Patrick Mac-Mahon for his Majesty, after killing the said Lieutenant Col. and his Soldiers, put all the Women and Children to the Sword, to the number of 80, among whom a Child, of six Years Old, being spared by the Soldiers, was kill'd by order of the said Col. Barrow,

County of Cavan.

Marc de la Pool, an English Gentleman, having taken Lands in that County some years before the War, invited several of his Friends to come out of England, and live with him, who were all murdered in their Houses by the Army, only the said De la Pool, who was brought into the town of Cavan, and there hang'd for no other reason, but their being Roman Catholics, and living among the Irish. Sir Alexander Godren and his Lady, both Scotch, but Roman Catholics, each of them above 70 years Old, were plundered of their Goods, and strip'd naked, and all their Tenants, Servants, and all their Sons murdered. In the same Year, the English Forces in this County, drown'd 600 Men, Women and Children, in, and about Butler's Bridge, no Murders having been committed on any Protestants there, altho' in the Pamphlet lately printed, several murders are said to have been committed in that place.

County of Mayo.

In this County, few murders were committed by either side, tho' the Libel saith, that about 250 Protestants were murdered, whereof at Bellicke, 220; whereas not one Person was murdered there, which the now † Lady of Mountrath can witness; her Lady-ship, and Sir Robert Hanna, her Father, with many others, being retreated thither for Security, were all conveyed safe to Mannor Hamilton; and it is observable, that the said Lady, and the rest, came to Mr. Owen O Rorcke's, who kept a Garison at Drumahier, for the Irish, before they came to Mannor Hamilton, whose Brother was Prisoner with Sir Frederick Hamilton, and the said Mr. Rorcke, having so many Persons of Quality in his hands, sent to Sir Frederick to enlarge his Brother, and that he would convey them all safe to him: But Sir Frederick, instead of enlarging his Brother, hang'd him the next Day, which might have well provoked the Gentleman to Revenge, if he had not more Humanity, than could be well expected upon such an Occasion, and in times of so great confusion; yet he sent them all safe where they desired.

There was a murder committed near the Moyn, on 27 Protestants, which was all (and that too many) that was committed in that County. Buchannan, said to be Buryed alive, was kill'd in a private Quarrel, and he cut off his Adversary's Hand before he was kill'd.

County of Galway, and Province of Conaught.

1642. Serjeant Redmund Bourk, of the L. of Clonmorris's Foot-company, and two more were Hang'd by the then Governor of the Fort of Galway; the said Lord being then of his Majesty's Army, for which Action no Reparation being given to his Lordship, he pretended it to be the occasion of his Revolt from the L. Marquis of Clanrickard. A party of the Garison of the said Fort murdered six people in Rinveel, among whom one Geffery

Geffery Fitz-Thibot, Aged about 70 Years, and in a burning Fever, with his Wife, who was Old, were murdered in their Beds; which Action provoked many of the Neighbours to stand on their Guard against the said Fort.

Richard Bourke, a Col. in his Majesty's Army, had quarter given him by some of Col. Coote's Men, he being taken in a Skirmish between Col. Grace, and some of Cromwell Party, and being Prisoner for some time, Col. Henry Ingoldsbby caused his Head to be cut off.

1652, 1653. It was a usual practice with Col. Stubbers, then Governour of Galway, and others commanding in said County, to take people out of their Beds at Night, and sell them for Slaves to the Indies, and by computation sold out of said County above 1000 souls.

Murders committed in the said County of Galway, on Protestants

1642. It is confess'd, that two Protestants were murdered in that County, whereof one was a Minister, as the Libel says, but it is most certain the L. Marquis of Clanricard caused the three Men, who murdered one of them, to be hang'd in Gibbets in three several places; and, by his Lordship's Orders, Sir Roger O Shaghneely hang'd the two Cow-herds who murdered the other. L. Clanmorris having declared against the said Fort for hanging his Serjeant, as above exprels'd, took Serjeant Rowlright, and three more of the Soldiers of said Fort, pillaging a Village near Galway, and hang'd Rowlright and the other three.

A barbarous murder was committed by one Edward Alta, an irreligious, prophane Fellow, of the County of Mayo, and his Accomplices, on some Protestants at Shruel, a place meeting Galway, on about 30 Persons; and the Pamphleteer might well remember, that the neighbouring Gentry came, with all Expedition, to rescue the said Protestants; and that they did rescue the Bishop of Kil'ala (who by the pamphlet seems to have been murdered) and his Wife and Children, with the most part of the said Protestants; and Bryan Kilkenny, a Fryar,

Fryar, then Guardian of the Abby of Ros, near Shrue, was of the first that made haste to that Rescue, and brought the said Bishop, his wife and children, with several others of the said distress'd Protestants, to his Monastery, where they found as much civility, as was in the said Fryar's power to give them for several Nights; until Mr. Bourke of Castle-Hacket, brought the said Bishop, his Wife and Family to his own House, where they wanted nothing he could afford them for some Weeks: The like being done by several other neighbouring Gentlemen, to the rest of the said Protestants, until they were sent to places of Security, by the L. Marquis of Clanricard's Order; yet the said Fryar hath been these eight Years past, kept a Prisoner for his Function or Calling, without any other crime laid to his charge, now being above 80 Years old. And it is observable, that in this County of Galway, all the War time, several Protestant Ministers, viz. Dean York, Mr. Corroyn, Mr. Kelly, and other Ministers, had their Protestant Flocks and Meetings, without interruption, living among the Irish.

County of Roscommon.

No murders were committed by any Party in this County, only five persons at Ballanafada, by one Roger O Connor; and no murder was committed at Ballaleague during the War, altho' in the Pamphlet the contrary is express'd; nor was any such Man as Wm. Steward know in that County, nor to have been murdered there, tho' the Abstract sets forth his being murdered in a most barbarous manner.

County of Leitrim.

1641. It was commonly known to all sides how cruel the Governour of Mannor-Hamilton was in that County, how he usually invited Gentlemen to dine with him, and hang'd them after Dinner, and caused their Thighs to be broke with Hatchets before Execution. Also the said Governour, being in Ulster when the Rebellion broke forth, desired one Mr. Iraght, (a Gentleman who profess'd much Friendship to him) to do him the Favour to guide him in safety to Man-

nor Hamilton aforesaid, which the Gentleman did, and came near a 100 miles with him, but after being friendly treated for some Days by the said Governor, he was hang'd without the least occasion; neither was the Gentleman in the Rebellion, but was hang'd least he should. The Libel says, three Protestants were murdered in this County; but, on due Examination, it will be found there was none.

County of Sligoe.

Here is none at this time, who can given any exact Account of the murders committed in this County, but one remarkable murder in Creane's Castle, in the Town of Sligoe, the Irish had a party commanded by Major Richard Bourke, (who after obtaining Quarter to march away) to the number of about 200 were murdered, rendering the Castle. This Sir Audley Meryne knoweth to be true.

County of Dublin.

1641. About the beginning of November † five poor men (whereof two were protestants) coming from the market of Dublin, and lying that Night at Santry, 3 miles from thence, were murdered in their Beds by Capt. Smith, and a party of the Garison of Dublin, and their Heads brought next Day in Triumph into the City, which caused Luke Neterville and George King, and others of the Neighbours, to write to the Lords Justices to know the cause of said murder, whereupon their Lordships issued forth a Proclamation, that within five Days the Gentry should come to Dublin, to receive Satisfaction, and in the mean while (before the five Days were expired) old Sir Charles Coote came out with a party, plundered and burned the Town of Clontarf, distant two miles from Dublin, belonging to the said George King, nominated in the Proclamation, and kill'd 16 of the Townsmen, and Women, and three sucking Infants. Which unexpected breach of the Proclamation
(having

† See Sir John Temple's Appology for this Massacre in his History of the Irish Rebellion.

(having deterr'd the Gentlemen from waiting of the Lords Justices) forced many of them to betake themselves to their Defence, and others to abandon their Houses,

In the same Week 56 men, women, and children, of the Village of Bulloge (being frightened at what was done at Clontarf) took Boats, and went to Sea, to shun the Fury of a party of Soldiers come out of Dublin, under the command of Col. Crafford; but being pursued by the Soldiers in other Boats, were overtaken, and thrown over board. One Russel, a Baker in Dublin, coming out of the country, in company with Mr. Archbold of Cloghran (who went to take hold of the said Proclamation of the Lords Justices) were both hang'd and quarter'd. In March a party of Horse, of the Garison of Donsoghlin, murdered 7 or 8 poor people in protection, tenants to Mr. Dillon of Humstone, having quartered in their Houses the Night before, and received such entertainment as the poor people could afford. About the sametime a party of the English, quartered at Malla-hyde, hang'd a Servant of Mr. Robert Boyne's, at the plow, and forced a poor Labourer to hang his own Brother; and soon after they hang'd 15 of the Inhabitants of Swords, who never bore Arms, in the Orchard of Mallahyde, they likewise hang'd a Woman for bemoaning her Husband, hang'd among them.

In the same Year, a quarter given by Lieutenant Col. Gibson, to those of the Castle of Carrigmain, they were all put to the Sword, being about 350, most of them women and children; and Col. Washington, endeavouring to save a pritty child of about 7 years old, carry'd him under his cloak, but the child, against his Will, was kill'd in his Arms, which was a principal motive of his quitting that Service.

1642. In April one Nicholas Hart, and 14 Labourers, going with corn to the market of Dublin, and having a pass, were all murdered upon the Road, by a party commanded abroad by L. Lambart. The same day Mr. Sarsfield of Lucan, sent his Groom to guide the Lord of Gesil's Troop, which the Fellow having perform'd, was knock'd on the Head for his Labour. The same Day 18 Villages in protection, the farthest within six miles

miles to Dublin, were plundered and burned, and to the number of 400 Men, Women and Children, were cruelly Massacred. About the same time a party of the Garison of Swords, having brought in 30 Labourers, forced them to dig their own Graves, and then kill'd them : much about that time one Bennet, Sheriff of the County, kill'd sixteen Men and Women, coming from the market of Dublin. A party, under the command of C. Crafford, murdered 140 women and children, in Newcastle and Coolmain, being under protection. Many thousands more of the poor innocent people of that County, shuning the Fury of the Soldiers, fled into Thickets of Firs, which the Soldiers did usually set on Fire, killing as many as endeavoured to escape, or forced them back again to be burned, and the rest of the Inhabitants, for the most part, died of Famine.

Note, That no less than 12000 of the Inhabitants of that County were cruelly massacred the first year of the War.

County of Kildare.

1641. Captain Thomas Hues, having summoned 33 contributors to meet him at Hedgestowne, caused them all to be murdered. The said Hues murdered Mrs. Eustace, Aunt to Sir Robert Talbot, 90 years old, with two Gentlewomen that waited on her, after she entertained him friendly in her House. The Soldiers of Clongow's Wood, and Rathcoffoy, yielding upon quarter, were conveyed to Dublin, and hang'd there, and upwards of 150 women and children, were found in the said places murdered. It is well known, that the commons of that county were, for the most part, destroyed and slaughter'd by the English, in so much, that there were not so many left living as could gather the twentieth part of the Harvest.

County of Meath:

1642. In April, Mrs. Elinor Taaffe, of Tullaghano, 60 years old, and 6 Women more, were murdered by the Soldiers of the Garison of Trim ; and a blind Woman, aged 80 years, was encompassed with Straw
by

by them, to which they set Fire, and burn'd her. The same Day they hang'd two Women in Kilbridge, and two old decrepid Men that beg'd Alms of them. In the same Year, Mr. Walter Dulin, an old Man, unable to stir a broad many Years before the War, was killed in his own House by Lieut. Colonel Broughton's Troopers, notwithstanding the said Broughton's protection, which the old Man produced. Mr. Walter Evers, a Justice of the Peace, and Quorum, an aged man, and Bed-rid of the Palsie, long before the Rebellion, was carry'd in a Cart to Trim, and there hang'd by the Governour's Orders.

Many plowmen were kill'd at Philbertstowne. Forty men, women, and children in protection, reaping their Harvest in Bonestown, were kill'd by a Troop of the said Garrison; who upon the same Day, kill'd Mrs. Alson Read, at Donaghlin, being 89 Years old; and 40 persons more, most of them women and children, shunning the Fury of the said Troop, were overtaken and slaughter'd. About 70 men, women and children, Tenants to Mr. Francis Mac Ovoy, and under protection, were kill'd by Greenville's Soldiers, and 160 more in the parish of Rathcoare, whereof there was one aged Couple blind 15 years before. Capt Sandford, and his Troop, murdered in and about Mulhuffey, upwards of 100 men, women and children, under protection, and caused one Conor Breslan, to be stuck with a knife into the Throat, and so bled to Death: And one Eleonor Cusack, 100 years old, was tyed about with lighted matches, and so tortured to Death in Clonmoghlan. James Dowlan, about 100 years old, Donagh Comen, Darby Dennis, Roger Bolan, and several other Labourers, and women, to the number of 160, making their Harvest, were slaughter'd by the Garrison of Trim.

Mr. Barnwell of Tobertinian, and Mr. John Hufsey, innocent persons, were hang'd at Trim, by Sir Charles Coote's Party. Gerrald Lynch of Donower, aged 80 years, was kill'd by the Troopers of Trim, being in protection. Mr. Thomas Talbott of Crawlstown, about 80 years old, being protected, and a known Servitor to the Crown, was kill'd at his own Door by some of Captain

Murroe's Troop. About the month of April the Soldiers under the said Greenville's command kill'd in, and about the Navan, 80 men, women and children, who lived under protection. Capt. Wentworth and his company, garisoned at Dumo, kill'd no less than 200 protected persons in the parish of Donamora, Slane, and Barony of Margellin, and Oymorein, the Town of Ardmulchan, Kingstown, and Harristown, all protected persons.

Sir Richard Greenville's Troop kill'd 42 men, women and children, and 18 Infants at Doramstown. A woman under protection was, by Capt. Murroe's Soldiers, put into the Stock of a Tuck-mill, and so tuck'd to Death, in the Town of Steedalte. Lieut. Ponsonby put two aged protected persons to Death at Downallstone, each of them about 80 years old. Capt. Murroe caused about 100 protected persons, men, women, and children to be put to Death in the Barony of Dooleek, and Lieut. John Tench kill'd a protected person, 70 years old, near Dooleek. Mr. Patrick White, Son and Heir of Mr. White of Clangill, in protection, was taken out of his Bed, and knock'd on the Head by Lieut. Luaton of the Garison of Trim. Many Thousands of the poor Inhabitants of this County were destroyed in the Firs, as those in the county of Dublin, and the rest, for the most part, perish'd with Famine.

County of Westmeath.

1642. About the latter End of March Mr. Christopher Mac-Gawly, notwithstanding the protection of the D. of Ormond, was kill'd in his own House, with two of his Servants, by a party of the English Army marching to Athlone, who, laying the protection on the said Mac-Gawly's Breast, shot him through his protection, to try whether it was proof against a Bullet. Mrs. Ellis Dillon of Killenennin, having the Lords Justices protection for herself and Tenants, their Wives and children, were kill'd by the Soldiers under Sir Michael Barmley's command.

County of Lowth.

1641. In the month of February, about 300 poor people

people, men, women and children, were cruelly slaughtered in the Wood of Derruer, by a party of the Garisons of Dundalk, and Tredath. About the beginning of March near 300 Farmers and Labourers, never in Arms, with their wives and children, were massacred by a party of the Garisons of Dundalk and Tredath, in Redmoore of Braganstown. About the same time Capt. Charles Townsly, and Lieut. Faithful Townsly, with a party of the English Army, and Garison of Dundalk, slaughtered at Dunmoghagh 220 Inhabitants of several Villages, commanded by the Officers of the said Army to live in that place for their greater Security. A party of the said Garisons of Tredath and Dundalk, kill'd above 200 persons in the Castle of Reaghtown, after quarter given. One Anthony Townsly hang'd Mr. Dromgole of Dromgolestown, at his own Gate. The said Townsly hang'd upwards of 30 men and women, going to the markets of Dundalk and Tredath, on a Tree, commonly call'd, Eight-mile-Bush, midway between the said Towns.

1642. A party of Horse and Foot, of the Garison of Tredath, kill'd and burned in the Firs above 160 men, women and children, of the Inhabitants of Termorfeighlin, within 3 miles of Tredath; No less than 1000 of the poor Inhabitants of that county (tho' they were not tax'd with any murders committed on the Protestants, according to their own abstract) were massacred.

County of Wicklow.

Octob. 1641. Three women, whereof one Gentlewoman big with child, and a Boy, were hang'd on the Bridge of Neuragh, by command of Sir Charles Coote, in his first march to that county, and caused his guide to blow into his Pistol, and so shot him dead. He also hang'd a poor Butcher on the same march—call'd Thomas Mac-William. Mr. Den Conyam of Glanely, aged, and unable to bear Arms, was roasted to Death by Capt. Gee, of Col. Crafford's Regiment; And in the marches in 41, 42, and 43, the English Army kill'd all they met in this country, tho' no murders are charged

In the said county to be committed on Protestants by the Abstract. In the Usurper's time, Capt, Barrington, garison'd at Arklow, murdered Donogh ODayle of Killearrow, and above 500 more, protected by himself; and it is well known that the most of the commonality were murdered.

County of Kilkenny.

1641. The English Soldiers of the Garison of Ballenakill burned an old Woman of 90 Years in her own House in Idough. 1642. The said Soldiers massacred 180 men, women and children, who were cutting their corn near the said Garison. They drag'd Mr. Thomas Shee, an innocent Gentleman, out of his own House, with five of his Servants, and hang'd them all at Ballenakill.

County of Tipperary.

1641. On the 24th of Octob, one Browne and Capt. Peasely murdered 11 men, women and children, in their own House at Golden Bridge, before any of the Catholics took up Arms in that county. About the same time the said Capt. Peasely going thro' Cloneully, Philip Ryan, a peaceable Gentleman, and owner of the said Town, came out of his House to salute the Captain; who pull'd out his Pistol, and shot the poor harmless Gentleman dead at his own Door.

Note, That these two murders occasioned the rising of the Gentry, and Inhabitants of that county.

One John Wyse of Ballyown, an English Soldier, came several times in Woman's Attire upon the Road, and committed divers murders upon simple country people coming from the market.

County of Clare.

1644. Forty Families in protection were murdered by the Garison of Inchicronan. 1646. Several residing near Bunratty were murdered by the Soldiers of that Garison under the command of Lieutenant Adams.

County of Cork.

1641. In Conden's country above 300 Labourers, women,

women and children, were murdered by some of the now Earl of Orrery's Soldiers. In the said county, among others, they gelded one Denis Downy, and pull'd out one of his Eyes, and sent him in that posture to his Wife. Fifty six Persons, or thereabouts, were brought prisoners to Castle Lyons (most of them Labourers, who did never bear Arms) were put into a Stable, and the women in that Garison, at Night, fired their Beards, and the Hair of their Heads, which so disfigured them, that their nearest friends could not know them next Day, when they were hanging.

1642. In the same county 355 Persons, men, women, and children were murdered with clubs, and stones, being in protection. Mr. Henly, an English Gentleman, dwelling in Roche's country, but a Roman Catholick, had his Wife and children barbarously strip'd, and most of his Tenants inhumanly murder'd by adjacent English Garisons. He, nor his Tenants, being never in Arms: And such cruelty was used, that they stab'd young Infants, and left them so, half Dead, on their mother's dead carcases. In the said Henly's Town, and the adjacent Villages, at that time, there were murdered about 900 Labourers, Women, and children.

1643. Cloglegh, being garison'd by the Irish, surrendered, upon Quarter of Life, to Sir Charles Vavasor, were all inhumanly murdered, and the Hearts of some of them pull'd out, and put into their mouths: and many other massacres were committed the same time there on women and children. At Lisslee, 24 men in protection, were murdered by Col. Mynn's Soldiers. At Bellauere, the same year, Teig O Mungan, and David Broge, blowing by command into pistols, were shot to Death by some of Capt. Bridge's men; and 8 poor Labourers more kill'd by them, being in protection, and then employed in saving some Harvest of Englishmen.

1642. At Cloghnakilty about 238 men, women and children were murdered, of which number seventeen children were taken by the Legs, by Soldiers, who knocked out there Brains against the Walls. This was done by Phorbis's men, and the Garison of Bandon-Bridge. At Garranne, near Ross, Connor Kennedy, who had

protection for himself and his Tenants to save their Harvest, were murdered by the said Garison of Ross, as they were dicing about their corn.

1641. At Bandon Bridge, the Garison there tyed 38 Irishmen of the said Town back to back, and threw them off the Bridge into the River, where they were all drown'd. Patrick Hackett, master of a Ship in Waterford; the Dutches of Ormond being desirous to be conveyed by him to Dublin, after leaving her safe with her Family and Goods there, the D. of Ormond gave him a Pass for his safe return, who being driven by a Storm into Dungarvan, the said master and his men were hang'd by direction of the commander in chief there, notwithstanding he produced his said Pass. The English party of this county burn'd O Sullivan Beare's House in Bantry, and all the rest of that country, killing man, woman and child, turning many into their houses, then on Fire, to be burned therein: And among others Thomas De Bucke, a cooper, about 80 years, and his wife being little less; and all this was done without provocation, the said O Sullivan being a known Reliever of the English in that country. Observe that this county is not charged in the late Abstract with any murders.

County of Waterford.

1641. In Decy's country, the neighbouring English Garisons of the county of Cork; after burning and pillaging all that country, they murdered above 3000 persons, men, women, and children, before any Rebellion began in Munster, and led 100 Labourers prisoners to Caperquine, where, being tyed by couples, were cast into the River, and made sport to see them drown'd. Observe that this county is not charged with any murders to be committed on Protestants.

*A LETTER from a Gentle-
man in SCOTLAND, to his Friend
at LONDON, who desir'd a parti-
cular Account of the Business of
GLENCO.*

Edinburgh, April 20, 1692.

S I R,

TH E Account you desir'd of that strange and sur-
prising Massacre of Glenco, take as follows.

Mac-jan Mac-donal, Laird of Glenco, a Branch of the Mackdonalds, one of the greatest Clans, or Tribes in the North of Scotland, came with the most considerable Men of his Clan to Col. Hill, Governour of Fort William, at Inverlochy, some few Days before the expiring of the time for receiving the Indemnity appointed by Proclamation, which, as I take it, was the first of January last, intreating he would administer unto him the Oaths, which the foresaid Proclamation required to be taken ; that, so submitting himself to the Government, he might have his Protection. The Col. received him with all Expressions of kindness ; nevertheless shifted the administering the Oaths to him ; alledging, that by the Proclamation it did not belong to him, but to the Sheriffs, Bailiffs of Regalities, and Magistrates of Boroughs, to administer them. Mac-jan complaining that by this Disappointment he might be wrong'd, the Time being now near the expiring, and the Weather so extreme, and the Ways so very bad, that it was not possible for him so soon to reach any Sheriff, &c. got from Col. Hill, under his Hand, his Protection ; and withal he was assur'd, that no Orders from the Govern-

ment against him should be put in Execution, until he first were advertised, and had time allowed him to apply himself to King or Council for his own safety. But the better to make all sure (tho' this might have seem'd security enough for that time) with all dispatch imaginable he posted to Inverary, the chief Town of Argyleshire, where he found Sir Collin Campbell, of Ardkinlis, Sheriff of the Shire, and crav'd of him the Benefit of the Indemnity, according to the Proclamation, he being willing to perform all the Conditions required. Sir Collin at first scrupled to admit him to the Oaths, the time which the Proclamation did appoint, being elapsed by one Day, alledging it would be of no use to him then to take them : But Mac-jan represented that it was not his Fault, he having come in, time enough to Col. Hill, not doubting but he could have administred the Oaths to him, and that upon his refusal he had made such haste to Inverary, that he might have come in time enough, had not the extremity of the Weather hindered him ; and even as it was, he was but one Day after the time appointed ; and that it would be very unbecoming the Government to take Advantage of a Man's coming late by one Day, especially when he had done his utmost to have come in time. Upon this, and his threatening to protest against the Sheriff for the severity of his Usage, he administred to him, and his Attendants the Oaths, Mac-jan depending upon the Indemnity granted to those who should take them ; and having so done, he went home, and lived quietly and peaceably under the Government, till the Day of his Death.

In January last, a party of the E. of Argyle's Regiment came to that country ; the Design of their coming was then suspected to be, to take Course with those who should stand out, and not submit to take the Oaths. The Garison of Inverlochy being throng'd, and Glenco being commodious for Quartering, as being near that Garison, those Soldiers were sent thither to quarter ; they pretended they came to exact Arrears of Cess and Hearth-money (a Tax never known in Scotland, until laid on by the Parliament 1690, after the Parliament of England

gl'and had eased themselves of it) e'er they entered Glenco, that Laird and his Sons, came out to meet them, and asked them if they came as Friends, or as Enemies? The Officers answered, as Friends; and gave their Parole of Honour, that they would do neither him, nor his Concerns any Harm; upon which he well-comed them, promising them the best Entertainment the place could afford. This he really perform'd, as all the Soldiers confess. He and they lived together in mutal kindness and Friendship 15 Days, or thereabouts; so far was he from fearing any hurt from them. And the very last Day of his life he spent in keeping company with the Commander of that Party, Capt. Campbell of Glenlyon, playing at Cards with him till 6 or 7 at Night, and at their parting mutal protestations of kindness were renewed. Some time that very Day, but whether before, or after their parting, I know not, Capt. Campbell had these Orders sent him from Major Duncanson, a Copy whereof I here send you.

Ballacholis, Feb. 12. 1691-2.

S I R,

“ **Y** O U are hereby ordered to fall upon the Rebels, the Mac-donalds of Glenco, and put all to the Sword under Seventy. You are to have special care, that the old Fox and his Sons do, upon no Account, escape your Hands. You are to secure all the Avenues, that no man escape. This you are to put in Execution at 5 o' Clock in the morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger party; if I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on, *This is the King's Special Command*, for the good and safety of the Country, that these Miscreants may be cut off, Root and Branch. See that this be put into Execution, without Feud or Favour, else you may expect to be treated, as not true to the King or Government, nor a Man fit to carry a Commission in the King's Service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling thereof, as you love your self. I subscribe these with my Hand.”

Robert Duncanson.

For their Majesties Service, to Capt. Robert Campbell, of Glenlyon.

Duncanson had received Orders from Lieut. Colonel Hamilton, which were as follows.

Ballacholis, Feb. 12, 1692.

S I R,

" **P** E R Second to the Commander in Chief, and my Colonel's Orders to me, for putting in Execution the service commanded against the Rebels in Glenco, wherein you, with the Party of the E. of Argyle's Regiment under your Command are to be concerned ; You are therefore forthwith to order your Affairs so, as that the several Posts already assigned by you, be by you and your several Detachments fallen in Action with, precisely by 5 o'Clock to morrow morning, being Saturday ; at which time I will endeavour the same with those appointed from this Regiment for the other places. It will be most necessary you secure those Avenues on the South side, that the old Fox, nor none of his Cubs get away. The Orders are, that none be spared from 70, of the Sword, nor the Government troubled with Prisoners. This is all until I see you." From,

Your Humble Servant,

James Hamilton.

N. B. Please to order a Guard to secure the Ferry, and the Boats there ; and the Boats must be all on this side the Ferry, after your Men are over.

For their Majesties Service, for Major Robert Duncanson, of the Earl of Argyle's Regiment.

T H E Soldiers being disposed five, or three in a House, according to the number of the Family they were to assassinate, had their Orders given them secretly. They had been all received as Friends by those poor people, who intended no Evil themselves, little suspected that their Guests were designed to be their murderers. At 5 o'Clock in the morning they began their bloody Work, surpris'd and butcher'd 38 persons,

who

who had kindly received them under their Roofs. Mac-jan himself was murdered, and is much bemoan'd ; he was a stately well favour'd Man, and of good courage and sence : As also the Laird Archintrikin, a Gentleman of more than ordinary Judgment and understanding, who had submitted to the Government, and had Col. Hill's protection in his pocket, which he had got 3 months before. I cannot without horror represent how that a boy about 8 years of age was murdered ; he seeing what was done to others in the house with him, in a terrible fright run out of the house, and espying Capt. Campbell, grasp'd him about the Legs, crying for Mercy, and offering to be his Servant all his life. I am informed Capt. Campbell inclined to spare him ; But one Drummond, an Officer, barbarously run his Dagger through him, whereof he died immediately. The rehearsal of several particulars and circumstances in this tragical Story, makes it appear most doleful ; as that Mac-jan was killed as he was drawing on his Breeches, standing before his Bed, and giving orders to his Servants for the good Entertainment of those who murder'd him ; while he was speaking the Words, he was shot through the Head, and fell dead in his Lady's Arms, who through the grief of this, and other bad usages she met with, died the next day. It is not to be omitted, that most of those poor people were killed when they were asleep, and none was allowed to pray to God for mercy. Providence order'd it so, that, that Night was most boisterous, so as a party of 400 men, who should have come to the other end of the Glen, and begin the like work there at the same hour, (intending that the poor Inhabitants should be inclosed, and none of them escape) could not march at length, until it was 9 o'Clock, and this afforded many an opportunity of escaping, and none were killed but those in whose Houses Campbell and Glenlyon's men were quartered, otherwise, all the male under 70 years of age, to the number of 200 had been cut off, *for that was the Order* ; and it might have been easily executed, especially considering that the Inhabitants had no arms that time ; for upon the first hearing that the Soldiers were

coming,

coming to the Glen, they had conveyed them all out of the way ; For though they relied on the promises which were made them for their safety ; yet they thought it not improbable that they might be disarmed. I know not whether to impute it to difficulty in distinguishing the difference of a few years, or to the Fury of the Soldiers, who being once glutted with Blood, stand at nothing, that even some above 70 years of age were destroyed. They set all the House on Fire, drove off all the cattle to the Garison of Inverlochy, viz. 900 cows, 200 horses, and a great many sheep and goats, and there they were divided amongst the Officers. And how dismal may you imagine the case of the poor women and children was then ! it was lamentable, past expression ; their Husbands and Fathers, and near Relations were forced to flee for their Lives ; they themselves almost stript, and nothing left them, their houses being burnt, and not one house nearer than six miles ; and to get thither they were to pass over mountains and wreaths of snow, in a vehement storm, wherein the greatest part of them perished thro' hunger and cold. It fills me with horror to think of the poor stript children and women, some with child, and some giving suck, wrestling against a storm, in mountains and heaps of snow, and at length to be overcome, and give over, and fall down and die miserable.

You see in Hamilton's Order to Duncanson, there's a special caution, " that the old Fox, nor none of his Cubs should escape ; " and in Duncanson's Order to Capt. Campbell of Glenlyon, " that the old Fox, nor none of his Sons escape ; " but notwithstanding all this wicked caution, it pleased God that the two young Gentlemen, Mac-jan's Sons, escaped. For it happened that the younger of these Gentlemen trusted little to the fair promises of Campbell, and had a more watchful eye over him than his Father or Brother, who suffered themselves, by his reiterated Oaths, to be deluded into a belief of his integrity : He having a strong impression on his spirit, that some mischievous design was hidden under Campbell's specious pretences, it made him, after the rest went to bed, remain in a retired corner, where

he had an advantageous prospect into their Guard; About midnight perceiving several Soldiers to enter it, this encreased his jealousy; so he went and communicated his fears to his brother, who could not for a long time be perswaded there was any bad design against them, and asserted, that what he had seen, was not doubling their Guards in order to any ill design, but that being in a strange place, and at a distance from the Garison, they were to send out Sentinals far from the Guard, and because of the extremity of the weather relieved them often, and that the men he saw could be no more than these. Yet he persisting to say, that they were not secure but that it was fit to acquaint their Father with what he had seen; he prevailed with his brother to rise and go with him to his Father, who lay in a room contiguous to that they were in. Though what the younger Son alledged made no great impression on his Father, yet he allowed his Sons to try what they could discover. They well knowing all skulking places there, went and hid themselves near to a Sentinal's post, where instead of one, they discovered 8 or 10 men, this made them more inquisitive, so they crept as near as they could hear one say to his fellows, "that he lik'd not this work, and that had he known of it, he would have been very unwilling to have come there, but that none, except their Commanders, knew of it till within a quarter of an hour." The Soldier added, that he was willing to fight against the men of the Glen, but it was base to murder them. But to all this was answered, "all the blame be on such as gave the Orders; we are free, being bound to obey our Officers." Upon hearing of these Words, the young Gentlemen retired as quickly and as quietly as they could towards the house to inform their Father of what they had heard; but as they came nigh to it they perceived it surrounded, and heard Guns discharged, and the people shrieking; wherupon, being unarm'd, and totally unable to rescue their Father, they preserved their own lives in hopes yet to serve their King and Country, and see Justice done upon those Hell-hounds & treacherous murderers, the shame of their Country, and disgrace of mankind.

Thus, Sir, in obedience to your commands, I have sent you such an Account as I could get of that monstrous and most inhuman Massacre of the Lord of Glenco, and others of his Clan. You desire some proofs of the Truths of this Story ; for you say there are many in England who cannot believe such a thing could be done and public Justice not executed upon the Russians : For they take it for granted, that no such Order could be given by the Government ; and you say, they will not believe it without a downright demonstration Sir, as to the Government, I will not meddle with it ; or whether these Officers who murdered Glenco, had such Orders as they pretended from the Government, the Government knows that best, and how to vindicate their own Honour, and punish the murderers who pretended their Authority, and still stand upon it. But as to the matter of Fact of the murder of Glenco, you may depend upon it, as certain and undeniable. It would be thought as strange a thing in Scotland, for any man to doubt of it, as of the death of my Lord Dundee, or with you that the Duke of Monmouth lost his head. But to put you out of all doubt, you will e'er long have my Lord Argyle's Regiment with you in London, and there you may speak with Glenlyon himself, with Drummond and the rest of the Actors of that dismal Tragedy : And on my life, there is never a one of them will deny it to you ; for they know it is notoriously known all over Scotland, and it is admirable to us, that there should be any one in England who makes the least doubt of it. Nay, Glenlyon is so far from denying it, that he brags of it, and justifies the Action publickly : He said in the Royal Coffee-House, in Edinburgh, that he would do it again, nay, that he would stab any man in Scotland or England, without asking the cause, if the King gave him Orders, and that it was every good Subject's duty so to do, and I am credibly inform'd, that Glenlyon and the rest of them have address'd themselves to the council for a reward for their good Service, in destroying Glenco, pursuant to their Orders.

There is enough of this mournful Subject ; if what

I have said satisfy you not, you may have what farther proof, and in what manner you please to ask it,

S. I R.

Your humble servant, &c.

N. B. That the Gentleman to whom this Letter was sent, did on Thursday, June 30, 1692, when the Lord Argyle's Regiment was quartered at Brentford, go thither, and had this story of the Massacre of Glenco, from the very men who were the Actors in it: Glenlyon and Drummond were both there. The Highlander who told him the story expressing guilt, which was visible in Glenlyon, said, Glenco hangs about Glenlyon night and day, and you may see him in his face. I am told likewise, that Sir John Lowther refused to accept the place of Lord Advocate of Scotland, unless he might have Liberty to prosecute Glenlyon, and the rest of the murderers of Glenco, which not being granted, James Stuart (who was forfeited for Treason by K. C. II. and since knighted by K. W.) has now the place,

Gallienus Redivivus,

O R,

MURDER WILL OUT, &c.

THE foregoing Account of the barbarous Massacre of Glenco, was printed in the year 1692; in Answer to Dr. King's Book, of the State of the Protestants in Ireland: And all the reception it met with among many here in England, was, that it was a Jacobite story, on purpose to reflect upon the Government, and that there was no such thing: but this is now confuted by the proceedings of the Parliament, in Scotland, this Summer Session, 1695; wherein they have voted the killing of the Glenco-men to be a murder; and yet have acquitted Sir

Thomas

Thomas Levingston, and Col. Hill, who gave the Orders for killing them. Why? because their Orders were pursuant to the Instructions they had from Court. Where will this lodge the murder? the design, it is well enough known, is to put it upon Sir John Dalrymple, commonly call'd Maister of Stair, one of the Secretaries for Scotland, because he is not so fiery a Presbyterian, as the other Secretary, James Johnston, who hath it by Inheritance to love Crown and Mitre alike; and to have a just reward for it. But Dalrymple is only a Libertine, or Latitudinarian, one of the modern No-Religion, who are indifferent to all, so they be troubled with none. Therefore he cares not whether Episcopacy or Presbytery, or what else is set up, provided the people be easy with it.

Now it being known to all the World, that the pretence of the Inclinations of the People of Scotland, which was made the Ground-work for abolishing Episcopacy, and setting up Presbytery there, was a meer sham, contrived by this Johnston, and the bigot Presbyterian Party in Scotland; who were all put in power, in the beginning of the Revolution; and set on the barbarous rabbling of the Episcopal Clergy in the West of Scotland, that they might cry out, The inclinations of the people were against Episcopacy: And having by these and other Arts (which are fully related in print) pack'd, and then surpriz'd the first convention, or meeting of Estates, to abolish Episcopacy: They dare not have a new Parliament † (as in England) but keep on the same Convention (only changing the name into that of a Parliament) to this Day: Because no free Parliament can be had in Scotland, which would not the first Day, spue out Presbytery, and re-establish their much more beloved Episcopacy. And the people shewing great uneasiness under their present Establishment (which hath been trick'd and forc'd upon them) All the craft and violence of the regnant Presbytery, assisted, by Acts of Parliament, and all the countenance of Government, having not yet been able to Outcast the Episcopal Clergy in the North, and other parts of Scotland, or prevail with

† See Querela Temporum, p. 8 and 9.

with the people to admit of, or at least give civil treatment to the Presbyterian Ministers sent to them, tho' established by Law. The Presbyterian interest standing there upon so slender a bottom, their Juncto think it not safe to have a man of Dalrymple's latitude in Religion, in so eminent a post. and near their King ; lest he should follow the inclinations of the people, in good earnest, and call a new Parliament there, which would ruin all their measures : Therefore ways and means must be used to remove him, and leave Johnston and the Presbyterian Faction in the sole possession of the Court. At length this of Glenco was pitch'd upon ; which was so odious, they knew their King durst not own it : Therefore they would throw it upon Dalrymple, who was Secretary, and attended when the Instructions were sent for the Bloody-murder. And thereby too, they would seem to take off the Odium from their King : This was their pretence ; and they had proof enough against Dalrymple ; but how that clear'd his Master, will be seen.

They produced nine Letters of Dalrymple's (of which I have copies) concerning the Massacre of Glenco. And I shall have occasion to mention them hereafter ; I will now set down their several Dates and directions and quote them to save repetition, only by their number, Letter I. II. III. &c, the two first are directed to Lieut. Colonel Hamilton, and bear date, on the 1st, and the other the 3d of Decemb. 1691, the four next are to Sir Thomas Livingston, of these dates, 7, 9, 11 and 16 of Jan. 1692, then follow two more to Col. Hill, of the 16th and 30th of the same Month, and lastly, one of the 30th ditto, to Sir Thomas Livingston. It seems very strange that K. W. would suffer these Letters to be exposed to the Parliament in Scotland, being most of them wrote by his Order, enlarging upon, and enforcing the execution of instructions, sent with them for the Massacre of Glenco. And the regard which his dear Presbyterians, and his favourite Johnston, in particular, had to his Honour, was very slender, when, to compass their ends, they load him so foully, that they might load Dalrymple too. Johnston, says No, but that he foreseeing (because some say of his own contriving) that the Parliament,

ment, who are most of them his Creatures (to their honour be it spoken) would fall upon the Business of Glenco, and that they must be, at least seemingly gratified in it, otherwise, that it might obstruct the Money-bills, did therefore advise his Master to send down a Commission to men of his own chusing, to enquire into the affair of Glenco; but withal to give secret instructions to his Commissioner, to keep up the said Commission; unless the Parliament should enter upon that Business; and if they did, then to produce the said Commission, to shew his Majesty's Innocence, by his care to have it examin'd; and withal, it would take the examination of it out of the Hands of the Parliament Committees, who might not manage so dextrously as those of his own naming.

Things being thus stated, and the necessary Orders given, it is vilely suspected that Johnston procured the matter to be started in Parliament, whereby, at once to get rid of his rival Secretary, and root up the interest of any, who had but an indifferency towards Episcopacy, at Court tho' to the utter shipwreck of his Master's Honour, to be recorded for all posterities (as if it were inseparable from some constitutions to betray those they serve, even tho' they wish them well, and must stand and fall with them) For considering the influence Johnston had in that Parliament, and that they never yet oppos'd his will in any thing; and that he has been able to suppress the least murmur or hint, that looked towards Glenco, when the Fact was new committed, and the Horror of it fresh and bleeding; and now for three years after: I say, it is not supposed by men who understand that Parliament, that it could have been brought upon the stage, when it was almost dead and forgotten, if the hand of Joab had not been in it; but let him look to that——I have only to add, as a completion of the foregoing Narrative that I can from unquestionable Vouchers, give the reader an account of the orders from Court to Sir Thomas Levingston, and Col. Hill, which are not in the Letter that goes before; and when the Reader is told that Hamilton (whose order to Duncanson is inserted) had his order from Levingston and Hill; then he has the whole thread, viz. W. R. order to

to Levingston and Hill ; Levingston and Hill, to Hamilton ; Hamilton to Duncanson ; and Duncanson to Glenlyon, *who was the Butcher.*

You find in the Gazettes, two Sets of instructions, one of the 11th, the other of the 16th Jan. 1691-2, and I will give you an account of them both. Those of the 11th did expressly order FIRE and SWORD (these were the words) against all the Highland Clans, who had not taken the Oaths. After they were sent away, my Lord Carmarthen (now Leeds) being told of it by Dalrymple (as I am informed) did represent it to K. W. as a thing so unknown in these Countries, which was governed by Laws, that Fire and Sword would sound very harshly ; no such words having ever been heard from any of our native Kings. This procured the mitigation of that order by the instructions of the 16th, which poured all the Thunder upon Glenco ; because some sacrifice must be made ! what concerned Glenco, was in the 4th of these Instructions, and is as follows.

WILLIAM R.

“ As for Mac-jan of Glenco, and that Tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders ; it will be proper for the vindication of public Justice, to extirpate that set of thieves.” W. R.

This was directed to Sir Thomas Levingston, and Col. Hill. And the Parliament has voted that Levingston or Hill's orders did not exceed these Instructions ; nor indeed could they ; For what can exceed Extirpation ! and that to be executed at the discretion of Soldiers ! as it is worded in the Secretary's Letter to Sir Thomas Levingston †. I am confident, says he, you will see there are full powers given to you in very plain terms, and yet the method left very much to your own discretion.

Take notice that the Instructions are counter sign'd W. R. at bottom as well as a top, which is not usual ; for it is the Secretary's Office to counter sign the King's Orders, and the reason is, that if any thing be amiss, the Secretary must be answerable. Therefore Dalrymple

ple had reason to wave that ceremony, in this Instance and let his Master take all the Glory to himself. And least this should not be sufficiently taken notice of; and that he might have a Voucher, when time comes, he took care to inform Sir Tho. Levinston punctually of it, in the same Letter which enclosed the first most bloody Instructions, of the 11th of Jan. 1691-2, for an universal Massacre of ALL who had not taken the Oaths. And begins in these Words; “ § Sir, I send you the King's Instructions sign'd and subscribed by himself.” — And to shew how pleasing a thing Mercy was to them, and with what reluctancy they prosecuted those who had taken the Oaths, he says in the same Letter; “ just now Argyle tells me, that Glenco hath not taken the Oaths, at which I rejoice. It is a great work of Charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable Sect.” And to shew how great this Charity was, and whence it proceeded, the wise Secretary blurrs out these Words; “ I have no great kindness for Keappoch, nor Glenco. and it's well these People are in Mercy.” Well indeed! they are in merciful Hands! who can say they ought not to die, for whom such a Secretary hath no great kindness! but who are they must die? ALL! ALL! Man, Woman, and Child! Massacre the Men, and drive the Women and Children to perish more cruelly in the Mountains. To which purpose, that extreme cold Season was chosen for the execution, “ † The Winter is the only Season (says the Secretary) in which we are sure the Highlanders cannot escape us, nor carry their Wives, Beams and Cattle to the Mountains. * It is the only time that they cannot escape you; for human Constitution cannot endure to be long out of houses — This is the proper Season to maul them in the cold long Nights.” This was express'd with the gusto of a Vulture, in expectation of a glorious Massacre! and then how easy it would be! “ I expect, ‡ says he, you will find little resistance but from the Season.” And then what thorough work they could make! “ To || destroy entirely the country of Lochabar, Lochells, Lauds, Keappoch's,

Keappoch's, Glengaries, Appin and Glenco.' Here was a plentiful Feast provided ! it was a ravishing prospect !

But, O ! how these Lyons were enraged when any of their desired prey was delivered out of their Jaws. It was in a mournful strain the Secretary tells the sad news. “ † We have an account, says he, that Lechart, and Mac-noghton, Appin, and Glenco took the Benefit of the Indemnity at Inverary ; and Keappoch, and others at Inverness :” But after this when Argyle told him that Glenco had not taken the Oaths ; how he did rejoyce ! as above quoted. “ § I am glad, says he, that Glenco did not come within the time prescrib'd ; † I am content that Clan except it self. * For my part, I could have wish'd the Mac-donalds had not divided, that is, that they had all excluded themselves from Mercy, and I am sorry that Keappoch, and Mac-jan of Glenco are safe.” But it seems they were not safe. Some must be made a Sacrifice ; and Glenco was pitch'd upon for the Victim. And the implacable fury which was shewn against that Clan, expressed the rage they felt, that so many had escap'd them. And therefore that Clan was to be destroyed entirely. “ ‖ I assure you, says the Secretary to his Officers, your power shall be enough, and I hope the Soldiers will not trouble the Government with prisoners. ** For a just example of Vengeance, I entreat, that the thieving Tribe in Glenco may be rooted out in earnest. I shall entreat you, that for a just vengeance, and publick example, the thieving tribe of Glenco may be rooted out to purpose. The E. of Argyle has promised they shall have no retreat in his bounds, the passes to Rannach would be secured, and the hazard certified to the Laird of—— to retreat ; Then in that case Argyle's detachment, with a party may be posted in Island Stalker, must cut them off. †† Pray when any thing concerning Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the Men will shift you, and better not meddle with them, than not to do it to purpose, to cut off that nest of Robbers, who are fallen

fallen in the mercy of the Law. ¶ I am glad Glenco did not come in within the time prescribed. I hope what is done there, may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a condition to draw together to help. I think to harraß their Cattle, or burn their Houses, is but to render them desperate lawless Men to rob their neighbours. But I believe you will be satisfied it were great advantage to the nation, that, that thieving tribe were rooted out, and cut off. It must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both the men and their cattle. Argyle's detachment lies in Keappoch well, to assist the Garison to do all ON A SUDDEN." Was ever so greedy a hunt after the lives of a company of secure and unarm'd people, who slept fearless, and suspecting no danger, under the protection of those who were thus contriving to Massacre them, in the most Savage and Treacherous manner.

The Secretary tells Col. Hill, that § The Oaths are indispensable. This was a fearful method of imposing the Oaths upon these Highlanders, that none must live who would not take them ! but were all admitted to take them ? one would think so ; when they were made indispensable. Yet notwithstanding, in that same Letter he gives these directions to Col. Hill. " Till we see what is done by the Chiefs, it is not time to receive their Tenants, or admitting them to take the Oaths or hoping for pardon, till they give evidence that they are willing to pay their Rents to you, and to take tax for their former Duties ; who will not do so, and were in the Rebellion, must feel the dismal consequences of it."

Thus Naboth's vineyard made him a Blasphemer ! if the Tenants would betray the Rights of their Landlords to attorn and pay the Rents to the Secretary, or his Governour, then, and not otherwise, they should be admitted to take the Oaths : and yet they must not live, if they did not take the Oaths ; but Glenco took the Oaths, yet that sav'd not his life, nor his Clan.

It were reasonable here to presume that K. W. did not know that they had taken the Oaths. 1st. If it had

had been so. This manner of Massacre in cold Blood had been a cruelty, without a precedent. 2dly, It was taking advantage of the time, with the greatest rigour. For the time limited by the indemnity, expired but the 1st of Jan. 1691-2. And the Instructions for a general Massacre were dated the 11th of the same Month in London, which was hardly time enough to know whether they had taken the Oaths or not. But 3dly, Here is no room left to surmise that K. W. did not know it; because Secretary Dalrymple, in his letter to Sir Thomas Livingstone, before quoted, which is dated at London the 9th of Jan. 1691-2, tells him, † That they had an account that Glenco had taken the Oaths at Inverary; which was the place where he did take them, as is told in the foregoing Narrative. And he tells Sir Thomas, in the same Letter; “ I have been with the King. He says your Instructions shall be dispatched on Monday.” And they were so; For that Monday was the 11th of Jan. 1691-2, which day the Instructions do bare date. And this Letter of the Secretary’s was dated the 9th of Jan. 1691-2, which was the Saturday before. And then tells Sir Thomas, that he had the account of Glenco’s having taken the Oaths with several others; that he had been with the King concerning it, and instructions shou’d be sent, &c. ’Tis true, his Letter of the 11th, which went with the Instructions, says † That Argyle told him Glenco had not taken the Oaths before that time, according to the account which the Secretary owned was sent to him, and Argyle was an enemy to Glenco, as appears by what is quoted out of the Letter 7: But this saying of Argyle to the Secretary in London, could not be of Argyle’s own knowledge. And one would think that the Secretary of State should have as good intelligence as he.

But, to make the most of it, this could amount to no more than a Doubt; and to suspend his further resolution, till he might have the certainty from Scotland; but they did not stay for this; for the particular instructions to Massacre Glenco, bore date the 16th of January, 1691-2.

1691-2, betwixt which time and the 11th, when Argyle told the Secretary as above, they could not send to Scotland, and have an Answer back. Now these Instructions of the 16th were no way conditional ; to cut off Glenco, if he had not taken the Oaths ; but positive, and without more ado. When it is certain that K. W. must at least Doubt whether he had taken the Oaths, or not ; but it is apparent that Col. Hill, who had given Glenco his protection, and to whom Glenco came to take the Oaths, I say it is certain that he, and the other Officers there upon the place, knew very well that Glenco had taken the Oaths and submitted to the Government. Those Officers whom he received into his House, and quarter'd their Soldiers among his Tenants, upon his laying down his arms ; these must know that he had submitted. But if notwithstanding they must obey their Orders (as they did) if it be not permitted to Officers, so much as *Rescribere*, to acquaint the King with any mistake that may be in his Orders ; but to execute them blindfold, and without asking Questions, then let me lie out of the reach of a Soldier.

The Reader must likewise know, that none of these foresaid Instructions were communicated to the Privy-Council of Scotland ; to whom by the constitution of that Kingdom, and continual custom, all the King's orders are directed. They knew nothing of this matter, it was contriv'd to be carry'd in such a manner, as not to be prevented. And when Gallienus's thirst of Blood is once satisfied, then let Slaves grumble and make inquiry ! we know how to manage them. Johnston hath undertaken it ; nay he hath done it. Done it ! more effectually than ever was heard, or I believe, imagin'd, in these Nations before the happy Revolution ; For here is a precedent made, and that by P-----t, " that the King may send his Guards, and cut any Man's Throat in the Nation in cold Blood ; nay he may Massacre the whole P-----t, as they are there sitting, by the rule that they have given ; that is, to acquit Levingston, and Hill, and to justify them for pursuing the King's Orders to Massacre a whole Clan, which is no more just, or Law, than to Massacre a P-----t." Let

Let us banter the World, nor our selves no more with liberty and laws, when P-----ts can be brought to approve and justify all this—— Well! Johnston! thou hast manag'd nobly. Thou art fit to serve a Monarch! but not unless you bring your Master cleverly off in this business; for what if you can place it upon Dalrymple; and if Dalrymple should be hang'd for daring to send such an Order, tho' he refused to counter-sign it, what will become of him, who both sign'd it, and counter-sign'd it, and commanded it to be sent.

If the Man such praises have,

What must he employs the K—— ?

Why! did his Master never enquire into the matter before? never before the Parliament clamour'd! and what was the meaning of a Commission to examine into what himself had ordered—— But, Mes James! Have you even brought your Master into this noose? what can you expect from him, but to be Glen-Co'd for your pains? Qui Glencoat Glencoabitur.—— You have brought all his Sins to remembrance. The *De-witting* in Holland was almost forgot.—— You have pretty good experience of his temper, or you may have. But if he suffers you to live to see another Revolution, you may plead merit; for all his Enemies have not render'd him so Black; so effectually prov'd, and demonstrated it to the World, as your management has done. He is happy in his Ministers! at least very justly serv'd by them!

He wants but a good Historian, that he may not lose his Character to after Ages. And, Secretary, you cannot do better than to recommend your Uncle that Office.—— He'll do it deliciously; he'll neither find or make parallels to him out of ancient Histories (for he'll find none among the moderns, especially in these Countries) and make him (I'll warrant you) excel them all. And among the rest, I would recommend one to him, that fits the present Case so exactly,——that you would think one was copied out from the other, and it is as follows.

“ Gallienus, ut erat nequam & perditus; ita etiam, ubi necessitas coegisset, velox furibundus, feras, vehemens,

mens, crudelis.—In omnes mēiacos tam milites quā
ciues asperrime sevit : nec quemquam suæ crudelitatis
exortem reliquit ; usque adeo Asper & Truculentus
plerasq ; civitates vacuas a virilii sexu reliquerit.

“ Extat sane epistola Gallieni quam ad Celerem Verianum scripsit, qua ejus Nimietas crudelitatis ostenditur : quam ego idcirco interposui, ut omnes intelligerent hominem luxuriosum crudelissimum esse si necessitas postulet.

“ Gallienus Veriano. Non mihi satisfacies, si tantum Armatos trucidaris, quos & fors belli interimere potuisset. Perimendus est omnis sexus virilis, si & senes atq ; Impuberes sine reprehensione nostra occidi possent. Occidendus est quicunq ; malevoluit. Occidendus est quicunq ; maledixit contra me, contra valeriani filium, contra tot principum patrem & fratrem, ingenuus factus est imperator. Lacerare, Occide, Concide : animum meum intelligere potes, mea mente irascere qui hæc menu mea scripsi. Trebell. Pollion. Trigint. Tyran. de Ingenuo.

This is the description of Gallienus, a cruel, and a bloody Tyrant ; And here is the Copy of some Instructions he sent to Verianus, an Officer of his, about just such another Massacre as Glenco, which he wrote, or sign'd with his own hand ; Wherein he commands him, to put all to the Sword, all that durst speak or think against him, as well old as young, he bid him plunder, kill, tear ; and that it would not please him if he kill'd only those in Arms against him, but all of the Masculine Sex.

Here was a great deal of do, and many words, about it ! but our milder order bid only Extirpate, and that not this or that body, or making distinctions of old or young, men or women. What need all that Cookery ! but only the whole Tribe : that was all ! he scorn'd to except the pitiful women, as Gallienus did. What need they be excepted ? why ! he excepted no body ! short work's best—and few words. And as the Answer to Great-Britain's just Complaint, publish'd by Authority, 1692. Says, p. 37, in vindication of W. R. as to this of Glenco.—A milder Order was never given. And he says that his Majesty has express'd a high displeasure

pleasure at it. It was high indeed ; for we never heard of it before. Nor are we like to hear of it, that I can see : for all the Officers who commanded, or who executed it, are still in their respective posts, unless advanc'd. Nor have we heard that so much as an ill word has been said by him to any one of them.

But this we know, by that Answer to Great-Britain's just complaint, that W. R. cannot plead ignorance, that there was a great clamour about the Massacre of Glenco, three years ago : and that he has taken no notice of it all this time ; nor now, till it was first started in Parliament, and that then, what he did, was, as much as he could, to take it out of the Hands of the Parliament, and by all his might and main, to stifle, or at least to baffle it. And that it has been baffled ; and this horrible addition thereby made to the guilt of that murder : that whereas none were answerable for it before, except Gallienus and his Verianus only, with their Accomplices, it is now become a National Guilt (so far as the Parliament are the representatives of the people) by the Parliament's making Gallienus's instructions sufficient to justify Verianus in his execution of them. Whereby they justify the whole murder, and bring it upon their own Heads, and upon the Heads of their Children. For if Gallienus had no power by Law, to send such Instructions, they could be no Justification to Verianus : but now the Parliament has voted that such Instructions are a Justification of Verianus ; and therefore they have yielded that Gallienus has by a Law, a power to send such Instructions ; and that they ought to be obeyed. — And then, *Lord have Mercy upon us !*

But to bring our story to an end, there is one noble stroke of Secretary Johnston's behind, whereby he thinks he has wiped his Master clean, from all imputation of the Massacre of Glenco ; and that is, he has perswaded Lieutenant Col. Hamilton (whose Order to Duncanson is in the aforesaid Narrative) to abscond for some time ; and then to slip over to K. W. in Flanders ; which he has done. This shews as if he were more guilty than the rest. He is made the Scape-goat, and all this Sin is laid upon his Head. But if Col. Hill gave his Orders to his L. Col.

Col. Hamilton (which he avers in his Order to Duncan-son) why was it more criminal in Hamilton to hand down his Colonel's Orders to the next Subaltern?

And why must Glenlyon, and the others who actually committed that horrid Massacre, and are now in their respective Commands in Flanders, why should these be excused?

O! no! they are not excused, for as in the Gazette 18th of July, 1695, the Parliament in Scotland has made a fierce vote against them, " That his Majesty be address'd to send them home to be prosecuted for the same, or not? as his Majesty shall think fit.-----O R NOT! this is as civil as heart could wish! And whether this Address was sent, or not; whether it was trusted to Secretary Johnston to send it, or not, is all one; for instead of sending them home to be try'd, Hamilton, is sent to them: And in justice we are to suppose that due Care will be taken, that in this Campaign they shall either be kill'd, taken, or desert. And then if we had them again, *how we would hang the Rogues.*

F I N I S.



